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**THE ROLE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN THE CONTEXT OF
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT VISION 2025 WITH SPECIFIC
REFERENCE TO AGRICULTURE IN TANZANIA**

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Doctor of Philosophy

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The role of the English language in the context of National Development (Vision 2025) with specific reference to agriculture in Tanzania

Safari Timothy Akhay Mafu

Summary

After thirty years of vacillation, the Tanzanian government has made a firm decision to Swahilize its secondary education system. It has also embarked on an ambitious economic and social development programme (*Vision 2025*) to transform its peasant society into a modern agricultural community. These are policies that descend directly from the ideals of the early years of independence and nation building.

However, there is a faction in Tanzania opposed to Kiswahili as the medium of education. Already many members of the middle and upper classes send their children to English medium primary schools to avoid the Kiswahili medium public schools and to prepare their children for the English medium secondary system presently in place. Within the education system, particularly at university level, there is a desire to maintain English as the medium of education. English is seen to provide access to the international scientific community, to cutting edge technology and to the global economy.

My interest in this conflict of interests stems from several years' experience teaching English to students at Sokoine University of Agriculture. Students specialise in agriculture and are expected to work with the peasant population on graduation. The students experience difficulties studying in English and then find their Kiswahili skills insufficient to explain to farmers the new techniques and technologies that they have studied in English. They are hampered by a complex triglossic situation in which they use their mother tongue with family and friends, Kiswahili, the national language for early education and most public communication within Tanzania, and English for advanced studies.

My aim in this thesis was

- to study the language policy in Tanzania and see how it is understood and implemented;
- to examine the attitudes towards the various languages and their various roles;
- to investigate actual language behaviour in Tanzanian higher education.

Sokoine University was the focus of the study and provided most of the data. However, other groups also provided information to give a fuller understanding of attitudes and behaviour in Tanzania.

My conclusion is that the dysfunctionality of the present system has to be addressed. Diglossic public life in Tanzania has to be accommodated. The only solution appears to be a compromise, namely a bilingual education system which supports students from all classes of society by using Kiswahili, together with an early introduction of English and its promotion as a privileged foreign language, so that Tanzania can continue to develop internally through Kiswahili and at the same time retain access to the globalising world through the medium of English.

Dedications

**To my wife, Mary; my children: Mike-Qaray, Dahaye-Sylvia, Qeshelda-Juliana;
my Daughter-in-law, Maria; and my granddaughter, Juliana-Kylie: “Education
is a life-long process; education is like climbing a tall mountain, the higher you go,
the further you can see; education has no end” (Nyerere, 1st President, United
Republic of Tanzania, 1961 - 1985).**

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ACRONYMS

BAKITA	<i>Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa</i> (National Kiswahili Council of Tanzania)
BASATA	<i>Baraza la Sanaa la Taifa</i> (National Art Council)
CCM	<i>Chama cha Mapinduzi</i> (The ruling Party in Tanzania)
DRPGS	Directorate of Research and Post-Graduate Studies
DSI	Development Studies Institute
DVC	Deputy Vice Chancellor
ELTSP	English Language Teaching Support Project
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance
FoA	Faculty of Agriculture
FFNC	Faculty of Forestry and Nature Conservation
FLL	Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics (UDSM)
FoS	Faculty of Science
ICE	Institute of Continuing Education
LITI	Livestock Training Institute
MALDC	Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock Development and Co-operatives
MATI	Ministry of Agriculture Training Institute
MoEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MSTHE	Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education
NORAD	Norwegian Agency of International Development
SNAL	Sokoine National Agricultural Library
SUA	Sokoine University of Agriculture
SUASA	Sokoine University Academic Staff Assembly
SUASURUDE	Sokoine University of Agriculture Sustainable Rural Development Centre
TAA	Tanganyika African Association (the predecessor of TANU)
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union (The Party that fought for Tanganyika independence – united with the ruling party in Zanzibar, Afro-Shiraz Party in 1977 to form CCM)

TIE	Tanzania Institute of Education
TUKI	<i>Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili</i> (Institute of Kiswahili Research)
UASC	University Administrative Services Committee
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UGSC	Undergraduate Studies Committee of Senate
UMISCP	Uluguru Mountain Integrated Soil Conservation Project
UPE	Universal Primary Education (in Tanzania)
VC	Vice Chancellor
VM	Faculty of Veterinary Medicine

¹ CSU-UDSM was established in 1987 with research support in manpower, training and consulting from the British Government under CCA/British Council. Although SUA was by then a Faculty of UDSM until 1984, the teaching of communication skills course was not extended to the Faculty except for the University Screening Test (UST) and Intensive Graduate Programme (IGP) for those students who scored below the threshold mark of 49% on the UST.

² The CSU-SUA is now the Department of Social Sciences in the Faculty of Science.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND INFORMATION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction: Genesis of the Study and description of the problem.

This study arose out of the following experiences. First and foremost is my personal long experience of over twenty years in teaching English language in Tanzania - first as a primary school teacher and a teacher trainer in some of the Teachers' Colleges in the country; and now as communication skills instructor at a University. I joined Sokoine University of Agriculture SUA as communication skills' instructor because in 1985 the University Senate recommended that a language unit similar to the Communication Skills Unit at the University of Dar es Salaam (CSU-UDSM)¹ be established at SUA. This was a result of the observations made by subject specialists and external examiners to the University regarding the low competence in English of the students in pursuing their courses conducted entirely in the medium of English. The Communication Skills Unit (CSU) at SUA was therefore established in 1987 and I was one of the first two lecturers to join the Unit². At SUA I was not only involved in teaching the course but I was also at one time the Acting Co-ordinator of the Unit. As Head of the Unit, I had the opportunity to attend various University academic committee meetings, such as Faculty Boards, the Undergraduate Studies Committee (UGSC) of the Senate, Senate and University Council. One of the persistent issues raised during these meetings regarding students' academic performance was the problem of the inability of students to '*communicate effectively*' in the course of their studies in general and in the end-of-year University examinations in particular (see **Annex 1**). Ever since I joined the Unit in 1988, almost all the reports of the External Examiners have pointed out the problem of low English competence and poor communicative skills of the students. Hence, subject specialists at SUA have always

¹ CSU-UDSM was established in 1978 with massive support in manpower, finances and training from the British Government under ODA/British Council. Although SUA was by then a Faculty of UDSM until 1984, the teaching of communication skills course was not extended to the Faculty except for the University Screening Test (UST) and Intensive Grammar Programme (IGP) for those students who scored below the threshold mark of 45% on the UST.

² The CSU-SUA is now the Department of Social Sciences in the Faculty of Science.

challenged me to help students '*improve their communication skills*', which actually meant helping students '*raise their English standard*'. In spite of the efforts being made by the communication skills staff it seems the problem is far from being solved. From my experiences however, I noted that the problem was/is more than that of students' '*lack of communication skills*', which could have been improved to a large extent by introducing the study skills course. On the contrary, it seems the problem is bigger than what is observable in the classroom situation. I therefore felt that the whole idea of introducing communication skills was either not properly understood or was completely misleading and may not be as helpful as the SUA management had expected when the course was first introduced.

Other activities within SUA, which prompted this study, include my personal involvement in multidisciplinary-research projects conducted by researchers from different departments at SUA. Two major projects in which I was involved are the Uluguru Mountains Integrated Soil Conservation Project (UMISCP) in Morogoro (1992 – 1996) and Wangama Village Agroforestry Project in Njombe District (1993 – 1997). Among other things, my task involved videotaping on-farm research trials, meetings and discussions between researchers and villagers and on-farm trial demonstrations by the researchers. During this time I also videotaped some of the lecturers in the classroom while teaching. In both activities, that is interaction with peasants and teaching in the classroom, I noted extreme code mixing and code switching between Kiswahili and English. While on the farm, it was expected that Kiswahili, the official government language, would be the sole language of interaction, in the classroom, it was expected that English, the official language of the classroom would be the sole language of interaction. This prompted me to relate this phenomenon to the problems explained earlier regarding students' low competence. Were lecturers resorting to code mixing and code switching because the students could not follow the lectures or was it a question of habit by the subject specialists?

Secondly, since my student days in secondary school and at University in the 1970s and 1980s respectively, I have heard on a number of occasions, the Government's intention to change the medium of instruction from English to Kiswahili in the country's education system. But to-date no concrete action has been taken to effect any serious change. As will be shown in this study, there has been vacillation in government policy statements since 1967 to this day to change the medium of instruction from English to Kiswahili but without concerted effort to implement them. The study will further show that there have also been several studies carried out by individuals and by the Government bodies to look into the problem of English as medium of education in Tanzania. Their specific recommendations have been varied and conflicting.

Thirdly, in parallel with the Government's intention to change the medium of education, there has also been a debate for a long time by individuals and institutions about this subject. For example, learning institutions particularly the Kiswahili Research Institute (*TUKI*) and the Department of Kiswahili at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), the Kiswahili National Council (*BAKITA*) and also the ministry responsible for education have held many conferences and workshops to discuss the issue. The debate, which involved people from all sectors of the society, has also been carried on in the local newspapers, editorials, and radio, and recently, on television. Their opinions have varied: some have suggested that the present system remain as it is, others have suggested that the medium of the entire education system be *Swahilized*; and yet others (a very small proportion) have suggested that the medium of the education system be English only (see Annex 2).

Fourth, it would seem the Government is now determined to *Swahilize* the medium of instruction at all levels shortly (see Annex 3). However, there is also currently a mushrooming of English-medium kindergarten/primary schools (popularly known as *academies*) in the country where the Tanzanian elite sends their children as a way of avoiding the profound problems in the country's education system. These academies

are found in major urban centres and are very expensive for ordinary people (see Annex 4).

Fifth, today the entire world is undergoing globalisation and modernisation process. Technological advances, particularly in information technology, have united many countries into a “global village”. English seems to be the language, which secures access to this process.

The study, therefore, intends to investigate rigorously, Tanzania’s language policy and planning in general and in education in particular. Specifically, the study intends to find out the extent to which the chief protagonists at the decision and implementation level in the institutions of higher learning such as SUA are aware of Tanzania’s language policy and how to monitor its implementation. I focus on institutions of higher learning, particularly universities, because not only do they contribute knowledge to the national development but also to the international community in the area of research and development.

The university echelons therefore should not be hampered by such factors as language in the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge and skills at national and international level. It is also at this stage where the problem of language of instruction is strongly addressed by both the subject specialists and the external examiners to the University.

It is against this background that the current study arose with a view, hopefully, to contributing to the debate on language in education in general and at the tertiary level in particular in Tanzania. It is hoped that the study will introduce consideration for a third possibility to the agenda, i.e. introducing bilingual education system at all levels as a solution to the language problem.

1.1 Origin, History and Growth of Kiswahili in Pre- and Post-Independent Tanzania

In order to situate the problem clearly, I shall give a historical account of Tanzania and its languages before, during and after colonisation. I shall start with an overview.

Kiswahili, which is now the Official and National language of Tanzania has a long history. It is basically of Bantu (African) origin but has borrowed words from other languages, such as Arabic³, Portuguese⁴, Hindi, German and English⁵. For many years, Kiswahili remained the language of the coastal people. In the interior, there were ethnies each with their own language. Kiswahili began to spread into the hinterland of the East African coast in the late eighteenth century when Arab traders penetrated the interior of what is now Tanzania and beyond into Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Congo and Mozambique in search of slaves and ivory. It was therefore used as the *lingua franca*, acquiring lexis from different ethnic groups during the slave and ivory trade and later during the missionary and European colonial days. When the first missionaries arrived in Tanzania, they adopted Kiswahili as their main working language (see below). When the colonial governments – first the Germans and later the British, ruled Tanzania, they adopted it as the vehicular language for contact with the local people (see below). When the struggle for independence began in the late 1940s and early 1950s the political parties adopted Kiswahili both as their working language and as a symbol for their independence (see below). On gaining political

³ Arabs first settled on the East African coast on the Kilwa Island around in 950 AD. However, serious colonisation of the East African coast by the Arabs began in late Seventeenth Century when the Omani Arabs conquered the Portuguese from the Zanzibar and other East African coastal towns in 1562. In 1832 Sultan Seyyid Said of Oman made Zanzibar his headquarters. Zanzibar remained under the rule of the Omani Sultanate but was made a British Protectorate. In 1963 it became independent under the same Omani Sultanate but was ousted by the Zanzibar Revolution of 12th January 1964 spearheaded by Afro-Shirazi Party under the leadership of Sheikh Abeid Amani Karume. Tanganyika Mainland united with Zanzibar on 26.4.1964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania (*Newafrica.com* 1999).

⁴ Portuguese colonised the Eastern African coast from Mombasa in Kenya to Sofala in Mozambique from around 1500 to 1700 AD after the successful voyage of Vasco Da Gama around the Africa to India in 1492 AD (*Newafrica.com* 1999).

⁵ Germany and Britain colonised Tanganyika in the 1880s and early 1900 respectively (*Newafrica.com* 1999).

independence, the ruling Party, TANU adopted Kiswahili as the official and national language of Tanzania.

In order to shed more light on the problem I shall now give a more detailed account of what I have said above first by looking at the spread of foreign codes in Africa in general and in Tanzania in particular.

1.2 The Spread of Foreign Codes: A Historical Perspective.

European languages began to spread to different parts of the world as early as the fifteenth century when explorers from the then 'super power nations' such as Portugal and Spain began their expeditions to find new routes to India and the Islands of the Far East in search of spices⁶. In the course of their expeditions they found 'new lands'⁷. The first contacts with Africa were mercantile, and restricted to the coastal areas (Spencer, 1974). Migrants from these European nations later followed these early expeditions in the newly found lands as colonisers. Other European countries (France, The Netherlands, Britain and Germany) emerged as colonising powers too and settlers from these lands set out to found new colonies as well. With them, they brought their culture, beliefs and habits, which they imposed, on the conquered peoples. Sometimes it was only the indigenous culture that was obliterated; sometimes only the indigenous people themselves who were wiped out, as was the case of the "Red Indians" in America or the Aborigines of Australia.

The political map of the world before 1960 depicted colonies under different colonial powers closely and neatly linked to their respective metropolitan powers in Europe. As far as Africa is concerned, the major milestone was the 1884 Berlin conference

⁶ The Ottoman Turks in the Middle East had blocked the overland spice trade route between Europe and India in the fourteenth century.

⁷ Of course 'new lands' only from the European perspective. Vasco Da Gama, a Portuguese found his way to India via the Cape of Good Hope at the tip of the Southern African coast while Christopher Columbus (a Spaniard) 'discovered' the West Indies and the Americas (at first thinking he had reached India by travelling westwards). Other explorers from other major European powers later followed suit to travel around the world to prove that the world was spherical and not flat like a table as it was earlier thought.

when Africa was arbitrarily divided between a few European states. These were the British, French, Belgian, Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, Dutch and German (the shares of this latter were divided between the other empires after World War I) (Breton, 1991:155). Each of these powers had its own empire and the British Empire was the biggest. To show how vast this empire was, there was even a saying that *the sun never sets on the British Empire*. (Second to the British Empire was the Greater France – *la plus grande France*, Aldrich, 1993). In this colonial situation, the official languages of the ruling powers were *ipso facto*, and without any contest, the paramount and nearly the sole means of administration at higher levels and the vehicle for culture recognised in each territory (Breton, op. cit. 155). At lower levels however, indigenous languages were adopted for administrative purposes, as was the case of Kiswahili in Tanzania. Since Britain had a vast empire the world over, the English language spread to most parts of the world; and this partly explains how and why English became the *lingua franca* of the world.

When the colonial powers began to rule in Africa in the nineteenth century, they found extreme multilingualism in each territory. For example, in the case of Tanzania, there were more than one hundred and thirty ethnic languages. Each colonial power had its own style in linguistic uses, and customs as in other matters, which generated some variants in the conditions of life of the indigenous masses (Breton, 1991:115). In the colonies ruled by Portugal, Spain, France and Italy (i.e. the "Latin" nations), the assimilationist policy was adopted and the resulting discourse and attitude reflect this. On the other hand, in the German, Dutch and British colonies, a segregationist policy was adopted. Ethnic languages could be used for native affairs - e.g. in trade, local authorities, religion and education at the village or small community level as a language of command between colonisers and natives. In short, either there was an almost total rejection of vernacular languages in administration and education; or alternatively there was some attempt to find a place for the vernaculars within the educational system (Spencer, 1974). In the case of Tanzania, the Germans allowed Kiswahili to develop and be promoted as vehicular language over a large territory

from its original coastal region into the hinterlands. As Blommaert (1997a) puts it, *"their motives were pragmatic: to improve or to make at all possible... communication between the colonial official and members of the local population"* (p.33), or as Breton puts it *"as an easy means of unifying their rule and simplifying their own task of communication"* (Breton, op. cit.156).

Tanganyika, now Tanzania (after union with Zanzibar in 1964) was at first a German colony until the end of World War I when all former German colonies were handed over to other European nations. Tanganyika was handed over to Britain as a Trusteeship Territory at the end of the World War I (WWI). Britain assumed her role in administering Tanganyika from 1919 when the first British Governor arrived. This change in the colonial master meant a change in a number of things. For example, the official language became English and this marked the beginning of the spread of English in what was then Tanganyika.

1.3 The History of formal education and language policy in Tanzania

In order to understand the present problem of the choice of medium of instruction in Tanzania, I shall now give a brief account of the history of formal (Western) education in Tanzania. This will inevitably lead us to the genesis of the problem faced by the present day policy and decision-makers in choosing the medium of instruction in the country. It is important to stress here that Europeans introduced Western formal education in Tanzania in the nineteenth century⁸. The missionaries were the first to do so in the 1860s and 1870s. However, before I present the history of the formal education I would like first to look at the education system in pre-colonial Tanzania.

In the pre-colonial period education was carried on by the elders and mainly by parents. Children would be taught in an informal manner about agriculture, animal

⁸ Arabs had introduced *Madras* (*Quran* education) in some settlements and towns along the coast such as Tanga, Bagamoyo, Dar es Salaam Lindi and Mikindani and also in the offshore islands of Zanzibar and Kilwa. More *Madras* classes were introduced later in settlements such as Tabora and Kigoma along the major slave trade routes where some Arabs had settled.

husbandry, and crafts such as metalworking, carpentry and pottery, hunting and fishing, and in the case of young girls, about housekeeping and child-care. Others would learn how to treat diseases by the use of herbs and other remedies. In the evening the children would acquire the culture, history, and beliefs of their society by listening to folklore stories from the elders (oral literature). The values of the society would be passed on in actual social situations. In short, young people were attached to skilled persons in the society (apprenticeship). It is equally important to stress here that each stage of this informal education was marked by initiation ceremonies such as circumcision or other tribal marks and tattoos on the newly graduated members of the society⁹.

Having looked at education in pre-colonial Tanzania let me now turn to the arrival of missionaries and the role they played in education and the development of Kiswahili in Tanzania.

1.4 The Role of Early Missionaries in Language Planning in Tanzania: The Use of Indigenous Languages in spreading Christianity.

Missionaries were among the first foreigners to spread formal Western education through religious teaching and opening of mission schools in the 1860s and 1870s in Tanzania¹⁰. In the more segregationist colonies that allowed the use and development of African languages, the basic sources of language planning were the churches (Breton, 1991). The aims of the mission schools were two-fold. First, they sought to impart literacy in order that those passing through these institutions would become able to read Christian literature and later help to spread mission teaching. Secondly, technical training was given as a means towards obtaining certain types of craftsmen and skilled manual workers who were required for both colonial and mission development (Spencer 1974:163). In Tanzania one could easily see the areas of influence of each Christian denomination. For example, the Roman Catholic

⁹ *cf.* Graduation ceremonies in modern-day education system

¹⁰ In other African countries such as Ghana, Liberia, Gambia, and Congo missionaries began their work much earlier.

Missionaries of the Order of the Benedictine (OSB) were very influential in the Southern Regions particularly in Ruvuma and parts of Lindi/Mtwara¹¹. Other denominations such as the Anglicans had their share in Tanga and in some parts of the southern regions especially around Masasi. The Moravian Church on the other hand, had influence in Mbeya and Tabora Regions while the Lutherans were more dominant around Moshi and Arusha (Spencer, op.cit).

In Tanzania, the early work of Missionaries like Bishop Steere (who wrote the first Swahili Grammar in 1860s) was in line with German colonial language policy. The most significant contribution of the early missionaries was in the spread of literacy through religious teaching and church schools. But equally important, was the manner in which they spread literacy, especially the choice of the language, which would ensure that the message was clearly delivered. In the areas mentioned, the missionaries exploited the use of ethnic languages in publishing evangelical literature such as the gospels, hymns and other related religious literature. Their main objective was to teach the Christian message. The fact that they resorted to using ethnic languages was no doubt because it was more effective to teach through local languages on the assumption that the local people would understand better the Christian teaching when conducted in their own languages. Thus the hymn books, the gospel and other Christian publications were written in local languages such as Kingoni, Kinyakusa, Kiyao, Kihaya, Kichagga and many more. This decision to use the language that would permit understanding has interesting reverberations for this present study. We might feel in the present situation that when the language of instruction in schools is well understood, it does not act as a barrier to acquisition of knowledge and skills.

To shed more light on the problem, let me now move to education and language policy under colonial rule.

¹¹ It was no wonder for example, that the Roman Catholic Mission centres at Peramiho in Ruvuma and Ndanda in Mtwara, were so famous for their trade (technical) schools during the colonial days and immediately after independence.

1.5 Education and Language Policy under the Colonial Rule in Tanzania

As mentioned earlier, when the Europeans colonised different parts of the world, they brought with them their own culture and imposed it on the subjects of their respective colonies if only by virtue of their belief that it was the best. Among the things brought was education, which had specific objectives i.e. to produce a small body of Africans, educated through the metropolitan language, to serve as minor functionaries and interpreters. According to Nyerere (1967b) colonial education was not designed to prepare young people for the services of their own country; instead it was motivated by a desire to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state. Thus, the objectives of the education offered to the citizens of the colonies determined the medium of instruction to be used at different levels. In each colony, the metropolitan language dominated the educational, administrative and mercantile colonial structures (Spencer, 1974). However, there were exceptions, for example the German policies towards the use of local languages, to which I now turn.

1.6 Education and Language Policy under German Rule (1885 – 1914).

German education and language policy tried as far as possible to distance the natives from the Germans and the German language¹². As mentioned earlier, in many countries the Germans allowed the use of the local language as medium of instruction in schools and for wider communication at lower levels. For example, in the case of Tanganyika, Kiswahili, which was already becoming a *lingua franca* over a large area of the country, became the main language of administration and was also used as the medium of instruction in schools¹³. The Germans were interested in obtaining raw materials from their colonies. They perceived that more of the indigenous people would have to become proficient in arithmetic and Kiswahili if the new needs for clerks and craftsmen in administration, railway and plantation were to be met without recourse to expensive

¹² German civil servants were trained in Kiswahili at the Seminar for the Oriental languages in Berlin before they were allowed to work in Tanganyika colony (Blommaert, 1997a:33)

migrant labour. The aim of the German colonial government therefore was to train a few African leaders such as the *Akidas*, to assist the German rulers in their administrative task - whether it was in the office or in the plantations. Basically primary education was four years and extended up to six years for those training for skills such as carpentry and masonry. There were no secondary schools at that time. The German rule in Tanganyika came to an end when the Germans were defeated in the World War I. Tanganyika was handed to Britain as a trusteeship territory. Let me now turn to education and language policy under the British rule.

1.7 Education and Language Policies under British Rule (1919 – 1961).

As a result of World War I, mainland Tanzania's political status changed significantly. Under British rule, the official language of administration was English particularly at higher levels. It was the language of the Legislative Council (LEGICO which became parliament after independence) and the language of the higher courts of law. Again the objective of education was largely to train individuals for the service of a colonial state. The clerks and other office workers were taught only those aspects of the English language, which could enable them do their duties with least communication problems. During the British colonial rule, the aim of teaching English language was therefore not to offer the best education *per se*, as some people would like to believe rather, the objective was to educate an African bureaucracy, who could do the tasks required of it more efficiently. In terms of quality and numbers, School Certificate classes had been started by 1947.¹⁴

One prominent feature of the British colonial education legacy in Tanzania, which is very important to this study, was the racially segregated education system. Separate education authorities for Africans, Europeans and Asians, were set up by law in 1949.

¹³ The first government school was opened in Tanga in 1903. By 1913 there were 100 primary schools, about 6,000 pupils (in primary schools), 16 European teachers and 159 African teachers in the entire country (Ministry of Education, 1966:8)

¹⁴ At the time of independence in 1961, the number of African pupils sitting for the School Certificate examination was about 700 while only 131 sat for Higher School Certificate. There was only a handful graduates (Ministry of Education, 1966:12).

There were therefore separate schools for Europeans, Asians as well as for Africans. In the case of African schools the majority of pupils were boys. The medium of instruction in European and Asian schools at all levels was English. In the African primary schools (Std. I – IV) the medium was Kiswahili while English was the medium for Middle Schools (Std. V – VIII) and for secondary education. This partly explains the historical legacy inherited by present-day policy- and decision-makers in Tanzania and the weight of tradition, which makes it difficult to change the medium of education in secondary schools and higher education.

The struggle for independence from the colonial rulers began after World War II. I shall now turn to this aspect as it played a significant role in the growth and spread of Kiswahili in Tanzania.

1.8 Kiswahili – the language of independence struggle and post-independence nation building process.

Kiswahili was widely used between 1954 and 1961 by the nationalist party leaders in their struggle for independence. As Blommaert (1997a) puts it, during this struggle, Kiswahili was the main language of mass mobilisation and political education. It was the language of liberation, the language of national independence and the language of freedom (p. 26). It acquired the symbolic load of nationalism. Abdulaziz (1971:165) (as quoted by Blommaert, 1997a) narrates an episode from the 1947 annual meeting of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) the forerunner of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU):

Delegates from all over Tanganyika had attended the meeting. The chairman made the introductory address in English, whereupon a number of delegates protested and demanded the speech be translated into Kiswahili.

Blommaert further points out that when TANU was founded in 1954¹⁵, Kiswahili had already acquired such a degree of political weight that the promotion of Kiswahili in education was one of the resolutions adopted by the founders of TANU. There was

also a large degree of consensus among the founders of TANU that Kiswahili was the 'national language' of black Tanganyikans (Blommaert, 1997a:34). As a result, during this time there was massive expansion in the use of Kiswahili in Tanzania and an increase in its status and prestige.

Thus Kiswahili played the role of language of decolonisation, a language that allowed Tanzanians to move away from the language of the colonial period. Moreover, it was useful as a language, which united the nation making sure that all Tanzanians could communicate. Tanzania has one hundred and thirty tribes, each speaking its own language. Thus no linguistic group was privileged by adopting of their group language during the struggle for independence.

Apart from these reasons, which enhanced the spread and growth of Kiswahili prior to independence, some political, economic and social developments in independent Tanzania have contributed to the spread and modernisation of Kiswahili. First, when TANU came to power in 1960-61, its party policy on Kiswahili became state policy. Thus one of the first decisions of the newly independent government was the promotion of Kiswahili to the status of national language¹⁶. Second, mass mobilisation after independence and particularly after the *Ujamaa* policy following the Arusha Declaration of 1967 (see below) was made greatly successful through the use of Kiswahili. Third, the *Villagization policy*¹⁷ of 1974 whereby the peasants were put into designated rural commune settlements further enhanced the spread and use of Kiswahili. According to the *Villagization* programme, peasants in the rural areas were put into commune-like settlements each with its own "village government" which was composed of the village chairman and ten-cell leaders (Proctor, 1979). Each

¹⁵ Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere founded TANU on 7.7.1954 by converting TAA into a serious political party at the annual general meeting of the latter to spearhead struggle for independence from Britain.

¹⁶ Some critics however, argue that this was highly symbolic e.g. Harries (1972) where he points out that the decision to make Kiswahili the national language of Tanzania was more a decision of intention than of fulfilment.

¹⁷ In some villages like Dumbechand, in Mang'ola Ward, Mbulu District, there were more than eight ethnic groups each speaking its own language – hence the choice of Kiswahili as a *lingua franca* was inevitable.

settlement was to be provided with basic social services such as a primary school, a health centre and clean pipe water. To enhance this close-knit system, Kiswahili was used as the official language in the village government business such as village meetings. Closely related to this, was a massive adult literacy campaign in Tanzania in the mid-seventies where all literacy materials were produced in Kiswahili. Fourth, the implementation of the ESR and later the Musoma Resolution on Universal Primary Education (UPE), made primary education obligatory. Since education aimed at preparing pupils for life in their mainly rural agrarian community (see below), the medium of instruction in primary schools was Kiswahili. UPE further enhanced the use of Kiswahili among Tanzanians as their *lingua franca*, especially among the younger generation.

The above post-independence achievements in the growth and spread of Kiswahili are summed up by Blommaert (1997b) who argues that Kiswahili was one of the instruments used to facilitate the spread of *Ujamaa* (socialist) ideas and values and to allow maximum democratic participation of masses in the process of decision making. It was also the particular mark of the Tanzanian citizen, who spoke an African language instead of a European language, unlike most of his/her fellow Africans from other countries. In Tanzania therefore, Kiswahili has been the language of liberation, the language of national independence and the language of freedom (Blommaert, op cit.: 26). According to Blommaert (op cit.) Kiswahili has the following qualities: symbol of national unity, a non-ethnic language which has originated through cultural contact on the East African coast, hence anti-tribalistic, an egalitarian language and modern language as opposed to ethnic languages (p.26). In a nutshell therefore, since Tanzania has one hundred and thirty languages, Kiswahili is a way of binding the different groups together. It is interesting to note here that in this aspect Tanzania is not the first country to encourage use of one language as a tool of nation building in the early years of independence. For example, in nineteenth century France used its language as a tool of nation building where the motto was "one language one people" (Aldrich, 1993).

On the basis of this background let me now turn to efforts made by the independent government to bolster Kiswahili as the official and national language of Tanzania.

1.9 Attempts to bolster Kiswahili after Independence: A historical perspective.

Early attempts to do away with English as the official language in Tanzania came immediately after independence in 1961 as part of the Cultural Revolution observed among many newly independent states in the 1960s. Among the issues of interest in the Cultural Revolution was the question of what language to adopt in place of the former colonial language. In Tanzania it even went further to include the code of national dress (*Vazi la Taifa*). This process of the code of national dress was taken seriously by the youth wing of the ruling Party at that time – TANU Youth League (TYL) and was called *Operation Vijana* of 1968 whereby tight trousers for men and miniskirts and trousers for ladies were discouraged¹⁸. With regard to the question of language in Tanzania the desire to move to Kiswahili was both ideological and pragmatic. As pointed out earlier, during the nationalist struggle for independence the main political party TANU adopted Kiswahili as its language and symbol of nationalism. When it came to power in 1960 (Internal Government) and on 9.12.1961 (full independence) the party policy on Kiswahili became state policy (Blommaert 1997b). It is important to note here that during the colonial days not many people had had the opportunity to go to school where they could have learned English¹⁹. The majority of the people involved in the struggle for independence were ordinary people

¹⁸ In some African countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) the state introduced radical Cultural Revolution. This included banning of all European/Christian names of both persons and places in the entire country – hence the Head of State at that time, Joseph Desire Mobutu (who came to power after a coup d'état in 1965 was instrumental to these changes) changed his name to *Mobutu Ssesseko Nkuku Ngbendu wa Zabanga*. Similarly, celebrities in the DRC particularly the musicians, for which DRC is very famous in Africa, changed their names – hence Franco changed his name to Luambo Lwanzo Makiadi. The Roman Catholic Church at first ran into problems with the state because it resisted these changes, but later accepted them and even introduced its own African format of conducting the mass, mainly because some radical church leaders supported the Cultural Revolution! These radical changes influenced many Africans, not only in the DRC but the whole of Africa.

who had very little or no formal education. They were unlikely to have been English speakers, which, in any case was the language of the 'enemy'. This fact therefore partly explains why TANU adopted Kiswahili as its official language during the struggle for independence. On gaining independence, most of those involved in the struggle for independence were appointed or elected to leadership positions including becoming Members of Parliament. In parliament, the official language continued to be English after independence. However, there were many instances whereby most MPs could not air their point of view because they were not competent in the English language. This fact therefore called into question the continued use of English as the language of parliament. It was found illogical to continue using English as the official language when most MPs could not follow debates in the parliament. Thus Kiswahili was made the Official and National language of Tanzania as early as 1962²⁰. Since then several attempts have been made to use Kiswahili, *de facto* as well as *de jure*, as the official language in all government offices as well as being the medium of education in primary schools.

One of the important steps in pursuing this goal of *Swahilisation* was the formation of the Kiswahili Research Institute (*Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili - TUKI*) in 1964 as a section in the Department of Kiswahili at the University of Dar es Salaam. (*TUKI* was formerly the Inter-Territorial Language Committee for the East African Dependencies, which was established in 1930. In 1954 it was changed to East African Kiswahili Committee) (*Kiswahili Vol. 5/1*, 1984). The initial task of *TUKI* was corpus planning. The main objective was to look into ways and means of promoting the National and Official language with a view of using it in all aspects of the society. To strengthen efforts being made by *TUKI*, the National Kiswahili Council (*Baraza la*

¹⁹ For example, in the 1st post-independence election of 1965, prospective candidates were required, at least, to be able to read and write (in Kiswahili). To achieve this adult literacy campaign in the Three Rs (i.e. Reading, wRiting and aRithmetics) was started throughout the country.

²⁰ President Nyerere's Republic speech to the *Bunge* (Parliament) on 10.12.1962 was delivered in Kiswahili (Blommaert, 1997a) ([*and was delivered live to the whole nation by the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation* as Radio Tanzania was known during those day] my own emphasis). Nyerere was also an ardent supporter of the Swahilisation process. He translated some works of Shakespeare into Kiswahili.

Kiswahili Tanzania - BAKITA) was formed in 1967 as government watchdog, to sanction newly coined/formed words (by *TUKI*) before being used as standard Kiswahili words. Other events such as the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar²¹, (hence Tanzania), the Arusha Declaration in February 1967 and Education for Self-Reliance in March 1967 contributed to the debate to make Kiswahili a national official language of Tanzania. This was partly successful when Kiswahili was made the medium of instruction in primary schools in 1967 as part of status planning and also as a further step towards making it the true official language. However, despite these earlier efforts to change to Kiswahili immediately after independence, English has continued to be used as the medium of instruction in secondary schools and in the institutions of higher learning in the country. This was mainly due to the language policy inherited from the British colonial system whereby English language was already in place as the medium of secondary education. Today, the desire to make Kiswahili the medium of education at all levels of the education system is still being debated as will be shown in this study. The government on the other hand has also been making *ad hoc* statements indicating that the medium of instruction in secondary schools and in the institutions of higher learning would change to Kiswahili but without taking serious steps to implement it.

In order to shed more light on this early resistance to changing the medium of instruction in secondary schools in Tanzania from English to Kiswahili let me now describe the elite class and how they came about in Tanzania.

1.10 The elite class and how they came about in Tanzania

When Tanzania (then Tanganyika) gained her independence in 1961 there was a shift in power from Europeans to Africans. As pointed out earlier, most of the Africans who stepped into the shoes of the colonial masters as policy makers and administrators in the newly independent state were mainly those who had taken part in the struggle

²¹ After revolution in Zanzibar on 12.1.1964, English and Arabic were banned; Kiswahili was made the sole official language in Zanzibar (Blommaert, 1997).

for independence. Some were those who had worked as junior staff during the colonial administration. This shift in power put those who took over power from the Europeans into the position of the first post-colonial indigenous generation of elite in Tanzania. Most of them had received their basic formal education and training under the colonial system (which was mainly up to Standard Six in the case of primary schools or Standard Ten in the case of secondary education –as this was the education system at that time). A few of them had had the opportunity to study abroad before independence. Their experiences and expectations were based on the European model. Their desire to maintain English, the language of the colonial system, is significant because it suggests they felt it was a superior language and that their knowledge of it gave them cultural capital in the sense in which Bourdieu uses the term (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). The Cultural Revolution that followed after the attainment of independence (as it did in many countries) of course later challenged those who took this view. Nevertheless, despite several attempts in the Cultural Revolution e.g. “*Operation Vijana*” of 1968 (see above) in Tanzania to get rid of the colonial legacy, to-date, some colonial elements still remain as part of the culture of the newly independent state. Among them is the language of the former ruler as in the case of the English language in Tanzania. This is so because the colonial systems in different countries had already imposed their metropolitan language on the education system of their respective colonies²².

The second generation of the ruling elite in Tanzania can be traced to all those who received their education just before and immediately after independence when English

²² There is clear evidence to this colonial legacy in the case of Tanzania (and all British colonies for that matter) as per *Report of the Commonwealth Conference on Teaching of English as a Second language* held at Makerere College, Uganda in 1961. The Chairman of the Conference was His Excellency, the Governor of Uganda. The Conference was attended by representatives from the UK, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan, Ghana, the Federation of Malay (now Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia), Nigeria, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (now Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi), Hong Kong, Kenya, Sierra Leone, Tanganyika, Uganda, the West Indies and Zanzibar. Thus on attainment of independence most of these countries adopted the recommendations of this conference. The implementation of the recommendations of the above Conference in Tanzania and East Africa as a whole was further strengthened by another conference entitled *Eastern African Conference on Language and Linguistics* held in Dar es Salaam in 1968.

continued to be *de facto* the official language in Tanzania. When this second generation, which is now the main player in Tanzanian politics and administration, came to power it continued to emphasise the use of the English language despite pressure from other groups in the society. By the late seventies and early eighties, there were far more Tanzanians who had received secondary education and a good number had had a university education. This group also expressed their desire to see that the English language continued to play a significant role in the education system in Tanzania although its domestic use was limited to only a few domains.

Today, English is the main language of the public sphere in many countries even if it is not strictly accurate to say that it is the **official** language. In the main anglophone countries: Australia, UK and US²³ it is *de facto* the official language although this is not always stated in the constitution. A further group of countries have written laws, which give English official status, often in conjunction with other language(s). This is the case in Canada (with French), in South Africa (with ten other languages), in Hong Kong (with Mandarin and Cantonese), in India (with Hindi and various state languages) in Singapore (with Chinese, Malay and Tamil). Yet another group has a national language as official language but a growing tendency to use English in most functions and domains of public life. This is the case in Kenya (with Kiswahili), Ghana, Malawi and Zimbabwe. Thus English has come to have immense geographical spread.

Furthermore, it is the main language of international communication and language of the dominant culture as can be seen in movies and major newspapers of the world. It is also regarded as the language of the winner of the "Cold War" and the sole remaining superpower and therefore politically dominant. It is the language of the global market place and so economically dominant. It is the language of the scientific community and the language through which new technologies can be accessed. Thus in all domains of

²³ The legal situation differs but in the US there is an on-going debate on whether English should be the sole language of state (Lo Bianco 2001). In Australia there is a similar argument with a strong movement in the 1990s back to English monolingualism (Moore 2001). In the UK English is the official language by custom and practice if not by written law (Wright 2000b).

international life English has established itself as the main medium (Pennycook, 1995; Wright 2000a).

It is against this kind of background which maintains the desire among elites to use English as the language of public life and as their medium of education in many countries in the post-colonial era. In the case of Tanzania, the conflict has been between the elite's desire for the continued use of English as the medium of education system in Tanzania and the ideological commitment of the government since the early days of independence to shift to Kiswahili. In the final analysis, it is the elites who are in a position to make a firm decision to change or not to change the medium of instruction from English to Kiswahili.

1.11 Education and Language Policies after Independence (1962 – 2000)

The period after independence can easily be divided into the era of the newly independent Tanganyika (1962 -1966), the post-Arusha Declaration era (1967 - 1980) and 1980 – 2000. I shall now give a detailed account of each epoch with regard to the language policies adopted.

On gaining independence on 9th December 1961, Tanganyika inherited the colonial administrative structures. However, there was one very significant development, which changed the education system just after full independence. It was the enactment of the *Education Ordinance (No. 37)* of 1961 to make provision for a **single system of education in Tanzania from January 1962**. According to this Ordinance the segregated education system, which operated under colonial rule, whereby Europeans, Asians and Africans attended different schools was abolished. Despite the *Education Ordinance*, recently there has been reintroduction of private English-medium primary schools in Tanzania. This can be seen as a backlash against the earlier Cultural Revolution on the part of the local elite and the bourgeois class in Tanzania. Apart from desegregation however, the curricular remained the same as that pursued before independence. Kiswahili continued to be the medium of instruction in lower primary

schools (Standard I – IV) while English was the medium of instruction in Middle schools (Standard V – VIII) and secondary schools. However, there was a significant increase in enrolment in the intake of pupils and students at different levels. Since English continued to be the official language in the newly independent Tanganyika, the aims and objectives of teaching the English language remained more or less the same as those before independence. Furthermore, since technical aid continued to provide teaching personnel from the former colonisers the use of English was continued. Many former colonialists continued to work in the independent nation as their expertise in administration and management was needed and this too had a linguistic effect. However, as pointed out earlier, efforts were also made to bolster Kiswahili, which became the National Language of Tanganyika in 1962 although its enforcement came in 1965.

The period 1962 – 1966 saw other major political and economic developments. It was during this time that the 15-Year Development began to be implemented. The first phase of the five-year development plan came into effect on 1st July 1964 and ended on 30th June 1969. On 12th January 1964 the Afro-Shirazi Party whose majority supporters were Africans overthrew the Arab Sultanate government in Zanzibar. This was followed three months later by union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar on 26th April 1964, which gave birth to the state of Tanzania²⁴. These political and economic developments had some impact of the language policy in Tanzania. While these developments were taking place, a major milestone in the Tanzanian socio-economic and political development was in the offing. This is the Arusha Declaration of 1967 to which I now turn.

1.12 The Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance: 1967 - 1980

The major landmark in the socio-economic and political development in the post-independence period in Tanzania was the Arusha Declaration of 1967. The

²⁴ The name Tanzania comes from **T**anganyika + **Z**anzibar + **nia** hence Tanzania. (*NIA* is a Kiswahili word to denote a desire to do something – hence the desire to unite the two nations.

Declaration was a political statement of intent to make Tanzania a socialist and self-reliant nation with massive nationalisation by the Government of the major means of production in the country. The Arusha Declaration emphasised education as a national priority. Hence the first policy paper, which came out in March, was 'Education for self-reliance (ESR)'. According to Nyerere (1967b),

Our education must inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community, and help the pupils to accept values appropriate to our kind of future, not those appropriate to our colonial past.

(Nyerere, 1967b: 7)

According to the ESR document therefore, the major aim of education was to equip the workforce with the necessary skills, knowledge and attitude for the kind of nation envisaged in the Arusha Declaration (Morrison, 1976:255). Education was therefore identified as one of the most effective methods of levelling the playing field for all citizens and empowering them to participate in the growth of the new nation. In a nutshell, as the new era began in Tanzanian society, there was a need for the country to emancipate itself from its colonial past. The nature and purposes of the education system inherited from those former times needed to be changed, as they were at variance with the nation's new needs and new aspirations. Egalitarianism was the central tenet of ESR, and making basic education accessible to all members of the society was seen as crucial means of engendering this egalitarianism.

The first major change in the ESR was the directive by the Ministry of Education in March 1967²⁵ on the medium of instruction in primary education, where it was directed that Kiswahili replaced English (in Standard V – VIII)²⁶. This decision was taken on political-ideological grounds as a reflection of socialism and the concern that all levels of the population should be involved in and able to understand the objective of the party policy (Whiteley, 1983). In line with this policy, a completely *Swahilized* education at secondary and higher levels was foreseen, since Kiswahili was the only medium of instruction that could guarantee a democratic distribution of knowledge

²⁵ Ministry of Education, Circular No 2 of 1967 Ref. 21.0.EDGE 2/6/64.

²⁶ The term *lower* and *middle* (or *upper*) primary schools were abolished. Instead it was referred to as primary schools, which was also restructured to be of 7-year cycle instead of 8-year cycle.

and an Africanisation of ways of thought (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1966). (This fact was also pointed out clearly in the Second Phase of the Five- Year Development Plan (1969 –1974). According to the ESR policy therefore, the major aim and effort of primary education should be to prepare the child for life in his/her community, which for the most part would be a rural peasant community and to train him/her for a life of service to that community. Furthermore, all subjects taught in the primary schools should be related to agriculture and where possible every school should have a school farm where local cash and food crops should be grown and modern farming techniques practised with the help and advice of the local agricultural extension officer.

With regard to secondary education, the major aim was to prepare students for life and service in the village and that secondary education can only be justified as something given, in Nyerere's words, *"to the few for the service to many"*. In every secondary school there used to be a very famous placard containing Nyerere's statement which read:

Those who receive this privilege have therefore a duty to repay the sacrifice which others have made. They are like the man who has been given all the food available in the village in order that he may have strength to bring supplies back from distant place. If he takes this food and does not bring help to his brothers he is a traitor. Similarly, if any young men and women who are given education by the people of this Republic adopt attitudes of superiority, or fail to use their knowledge to help the development of this country, then they are betraying our Union.

J K Nyerere
(1st President of the United Republic of Tanzania)
(Quoted from G. Ruhumbika, 1974).

Since the progression of students from primary to secondary schools still concerns a minority of the population (only about 13% of those who enrolled in primary schools) the ESR policy greatly influenced the selection of students for secondary education. Greater emphasis was placed on attributes such as character, initiative, participation and contribution to community work and willingness to serve, in addition to academic ability. Political education became an integral part of secondary education with a view of inculcating in the minds of the pupils an awareness of the political trends in the

country as well as to create the right attitude to socialism and social commitment (Ministry of Education and Culture, May, 1967).

In 1969 the Ministry of Education issued a directive that with effect from 1970, the Ordinary level examinations of secondary education would be conducted in Kiswahili. This was seen as a gesture towards making Kiswahili the medium of instruction in secondary schools and later in the institutions of higher learning in the country as indicated earlier in 1967. However, in the event *Siasa* (Civics/Political Education) was the only paper that was conducted in Kiswahili in 1970. The general disinclination to move to Kiswahili in other papers was most likely due to the attitudes of the policy makers outlined above rather than lack of funds or as Mulokozi (1991 puts it "the reasons (not to change to Kiswahili) are not technical but political" (p.8).

With regard to teacher training, Teachers' Colleges were seen as trainers of people who would determine the right social norms in the society and shape ideas and aspirations of the nation. Thus the aim of teacher education was to train teachers to encourage the social norms desired by the government and to implement ESR in schools and in the wider community. To achieve these goals the medium of instruction in teachers' colleges was changed to Kiswahili. This was in line with the language policy regarding the medium of instruction in the primary schools.

1.13 Universal Primary Education (UPE) in Tanzania

Another big landmark in the education system after the Arusha Declaration and the subsequent ESR is the Universal Primary Education (UPE), which came about as a result of the National Executive Committee of TANU, the ruling Party's resolution in 1974, popularly known as the *Musoma Resolution*. The Resolution required that all primary school-age children are enrolled in the primary schools by 1978²⁷ - education for all was the *motto*. Primary education was seen as a right for every child.

²⁷ Number pupils in primary schools rose from a mere 518,663 in 1974 to 3,414,210 in 1978/79. (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1991:8)

Furthermore, education was meant to be an important tool for social, political and economic transformation. New schools were built on a self-help basis in many villages and in urban settings. Existing schools were expanded. Unfortunately this massive increase in primary school enrolment was not matched with an increase in the production of equipment, learning materials and the number of qualified teachers²⁸. An effort to increase the number of teachers was made by employing the Distant Learning approach but without fully bridging the gap. The implementation of *Swahilisation* in primary education following the ESR policy in 1967 was seen as a gesture to making primary education democratic, meaningful and accessible to all Tanzanians without any barriers whatsoever. UPE, therefore, was another major step in the democratisation of primary education in Tanzania. Primary education was conceived as complete in itself - because all those enrolled into the primary schools could not be accommodated in secondary schools at the end of the primary school education. That is to say, it was expected that at the end of the seven years of primary education, primary school graduates would be able to live in their rural settings and use their skills, knowledge and attitudes to build the socialist state as stated in the Arusha Declaration.

This was indeed the situation. Despite this massive enrolment in the primary schools, the increase in enrolment in secondary schools was not proportionate. As pointed out earlier, only about 13% of primary school graduates were selected to progress to secondary schools due to scarce resources - hence secondary school education became a privilege for the few²⁹. To counter inequality, a regional quota system was introduced to make fair selection into secondary schools. These small numbers progressing further made it difficult to gear primary education to the needs of the secondary curriculum. Primary education had to be tailored - i.e. to prepare the child for life in his community. Thus the primary curriculum had to ensure that these

²⁸ In some schools, brighter pupils in the upper classes taught those in standard one. Furthermore, classes were opened under trees, open air and class size almost doubled (personal experience as I was teaching in one of the primary schools between 1973 and 1978).

objectives were achieved. The focus of the curriculum therefore reinforced the decision that the language of instruction must match the language used in the Tanzanian community. As pointed out earlier, due to these changes and others reasons such as low investment in the education sector, the quality of education in the country was greatly affected. This led to the formation of the Presidential Commission to review the education system in 1980 (see below).

In order to give more light to the problem from the Tanzanian perspective let me recap and expand on the organisational structure of education in Tanzania.

1.14 Organisation and structure of Education System in Tanzania.

The current education system in Tanzania is based on the following tiers: 7 – 4 – 2 – 3/4/5. That is, seven years of primary, four years of secondary (O-level), two years of secondary (A-level) and 3/4/5 years of tertiary education respectively. The 3/4/5 years of tertiary education depends on the nature of the degree course. For example, a course of study leading to BA and BSc at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) takes three years. On the other hand, BSc (Engineering), BSc (Geology) at UDSM and most of the degree programmes at Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) take four years except Bachelor of Veterinary Medicine (BVM), which takes five years. Similarly, a Degree in Medicine (MD) offered by the Muhimbili College of Health Sciences (MUCHS) takes five years. There are also other institutions of higher learning in the country, which offer diplomas in agriculture, architecture, forestry, livestock, education, IT, finance and public administration. The duration for such diplomas is normally three years.

In Tanzania, primary education was made compulsory for all children with effect from 1978 (Universal Primary Education – see above). In the first decade enrolment in

²⁹ The percentage of pupils making their way into secondary schools has not changed much to-date in spite of increase in number of government and private secondary schools (Ndeki, 1998)

Standard One (P1) was approximately 800,000 per year³⁰ (an achievement of 96%). However in the late 1980s enrolment rates for children of primary age fell to around 75% (Ndeki, 1998). Today unfortunately, there is a drastic dropout of up to 45% of these children before they reach Standard Seven, (P7). For example in the final year of primary education the number of pupils who sat for the examination between 1998 and 2000 is as follows: 363,000 in 1998, 464,000 in 1999 and 420,000 in September 2000 (National Examination Council, Dar es Salaam, 2000 - see **Annex 5**). Of the pupils who make their way up to P7, only about 13% make their way into secondary schools which takes them up to O -level. Of those reaching O - level, only about 1.7% of those initially enrolled in P1, continue with higher secondary education (Form V – VI i.e. A-level). For example, in May 2000, only 12,000 students sat for the A-level examinations (Ministry of Education and Culture, August 2000). Similarly, only about 0.6% of those initially enrolled in P1 make their way into the two Universities and other institutions of higher learning (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1999)³¹.

There are a total of 890 secondary schools in the country (out of which 504 are government owned and 386 privately owned – mainly by religious organisations (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2000)³². At the moment there are two main government-run universities: The University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) in Morogoro. UDSM has three campuses: the main campus at Mlimani, University College of Land planning and Survey (UCLAS) and Muhimbili College of Health Sciences (MUCHS). Annual intake of the two Universities is about 5,000 students (3800 at UDSM including MUCHS and UCLAS and 1200 at SUA). The above picture shows a very steep pyramid in the education system in a country with a population of 32m people. It is therefore an elitist education

³⁰ At the onset of the UPE in the late seventies and early eighties, records of over one million pupils were enrolled in Standard One in the first few years of programme (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1999).

³¹ Private universities are now being established in the country as a result of privatisation policy of the late 1980s. However, their annual intake is so far negligible.

³² At independence there were total of 98 secondary schools of which 70 government owned and 28 privately owned mainly by the church but there was no university in the country and the population of the country was 9.5m people at that time (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1968).

model whereby the majority get basic education and a very few get high level education.

In parallel to the educational imbalance there is also sharp division in access to technologies and benefits of modernity within the country. This is because Tanzania is basically a rural agrarian society where people practise peasant farming. 85% of the population live in rural areas. Only 10% of the population in the country have electricity – mainly in major towns. There is hardly any rural electrification nor will there be in the foreseeable future. This implies that major industries are located in urban centres (and will continue to be so). Similarly social amenities, such as television and other recreations are confined to the urban population too. New technologies such as computers and related software such as Internet facilities are just emerging in Tanzania and are confined to major institutions such as universities and some government and private offices or in major industries and other public institutions³³.

After this brief description of the education system and a general picture of the Tanzanian society let me now turn to the initial statement of the problem I intend to discuss.

1.15 Initial Statement of the Problem

This study arose out of the concern that despite all the evidence available to the policy- and decision-makers in Tanzanian there are negative consequences on learning because of the continued use of the English language as the medium of instruction in secondary schools and institutions of higher learning (see 1.0 above), *Swahilisation* has stalled. So far the government policy on the language of instruction in secondary schools and tertiary education is unclear as will be shown in this study. The medium of instruction was effectively changed to Kiswahili in both lower and upper primary schools in 1967 (as part of the Cultural Revolution and also as part of the policy

³³ For example, Tanzania Postal Corporation has now opened an Internet café for public use (*The Guardian*, 14.12.2000).

Education for Self-Reliance – ESR, which was adopted after the Arusha Declaration – see above). At that time, there was clear indication by the government that the medium of instruction would also change to Kiswahili in secondary schools in 1971, and later in tertiary education, following the government directive of 1969. Similarly, in the second phase of the National Development Plan (1969 – 1974)³⁴ it was stated that the medium of instruction in secondary schools would change to Kiswahili in order to meet the demands of Tanzania's rural agrarian society. However, it seems there is a lack of political will to implement these earlier plans to change the language of instruction in secondary schools and tertiary education from English to Kiswahili as recommended in a number of studies carried out in the country in the mid-seventies and eighties. Similar recommendations were also made in the 1982 Report of the Presidential Commission on Educational Reforms. Despite government statements on its intention to change the medium of instruction, it seems that in practice the government does not really want to commit itself to implementing its own decisions. (Reasons for this lack of commitment will be discussed further in **Chapter Six**). It is important however, to point out here that this lack of commitment is already costing the nation a lot educationally, economically, socially, culturally and politically. This is because many of the future workforce who are currently in the education and training pipeline are not being properly equipped with knowledge and skills because they are blocked by inadequate English language skills (e.g. Tanzania Human Rights Report for 1999, see **Annex 6**). The fact that over 85% of Tanzania's population of over 32 million people live in rural areas and practise peasant subsistence farming means that those in education and training need knowledge and skills, which will lead to a rapid rural transformation for appropriate development. If these agents (the young men and women) are not properly educated to use their knowledge and appropriate technology for agricultural/ rural transformation, Tanzania, whose main backbone of the economy is agriculture, will remain underdeveloped and poor. For the foreseeable future,

³⁴ Tanzania embarked on a fifteen- year Economic and Social Development strategy on 1st July 1964. The programme consisted of three phases each comprising of five years. Its three main goals were to attain self-sufficiency in middle- and high-level skilled manpower, to raise income per capita and to raise the life expectancy by 1980.

Tanzania will remain an agricultural country. It will continue to depend on agriculture to feed the people and agricultural produce to earn its domestic and external income. It will most probably develop more agro-based industries, which will process agricultural farm produce and at the same time most probably develop agro-chemical industries to meet needs and demands of the agro-industry in the country. To meet these developmental demands therefore, farmers of today and tomorrow need to be well equipped with the necessary knowledge and skills³⁵. This process must not be hindered by any factor such as an alien language of instruction. On the other hand, Tanzanians must at the same time remain in a position to keep abreast with developments in the ever-changing and increasingly competitive world. With an ever-widening gap between the rich and poor, both intranationally and internationally, Tanzania cannot afford to make the wrong choice in its medium of education. It cannot afford to be disadvantaged by inefficiency in communication.

The Tanzanian government's decision to implement its *Swahilisation* policy of the medium of education at secondary level has faced never-ending criticism from certain sectors of the Tanzanian public. According to the debate (which has been going on for a long time) in the papers, radios and recently, on TV (which is a new thing in Tanzania and found in major towns only), the main counter-argument against a shift to Kiswahili is the following: that English is an international language (of science and technology). To abandon it would lead to Tanzania being left behind and isolated scientifically and technologically. It is also argued that with the globalisation process, which is engulfing the entire world today, Tanzania may fail to compete in the mainly capitalist global economy. It is further argued that, with the transnational movement of people, Tanzanians will fail to compete in the world job market because they will not be competent enough in English.

³⁵ Levels of development in South Korea, Indonesia and Tanzania were almost at par in the late 60s. In order to catch up with development 10, 15 and 20 years to come, South Korea and Indonesia invested heavily in education- hence accelerated development ("Dwindling Education Seriousness in Tanzania" in *The African*, 6.6.2000).

1.16 A closer look at the Problem

I shall now offer analysis of the relationship between language choice and educational performance based on my own experiences and on some of the published reports on the subject, prior to making a rigorous study of the policy statements on the language of education at all levels.

Since the mid-1970s there has been general dissatisfaction with the educational standards of school graduates at all levels of education in Tanzania. There has also been a concern over the standards of English language, which is the medium of instruction in secondary schools, post-secondary school institutions and tertiary institutions. The matter has been worsened by the belief among some Tanzanian intellectuals that knowing English language is equal to being well educated. (This is the legacy of the cultural capital concept). The problem appears to be related to the fact that while Kiswahili is **the official and the national language in Tanzania and the medium of instruction for primary education**, English is the medium of instruction in secondary schools and post-secondary school institutions. Many students who make their way into post-primary institutions do not have adequate competence in English to use it effectively as the medium of education. A number of significant studies in Tanzania on language in education, show that there is a relationship between the two problems, i.e. the falling standards of education and the level of competence in the medium of instruction (Andersen, 1975; Osbiston, 1980; Mvungi, 1982). In the Tanzanian context therefore, since students (in secondary schools and higher learning institutions) do not understand English, the medium of instruction, they are unable to understand subjects through this medium. There is a plethora of literature addressing the problems of English-medium instruction. For example Mvungi (1974), Mohamed (1975), Katigula (1976), and Mlekwa (1977) have highlighted problems related to the acquisition of English in primary schools in Tanzania and the implications for English-medium learning in secondary schools (Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1997). According to the findings of these earlier studies, it was suggested that the continued use of English as medium of instruction in the Tanzanian education system appears to be a barrier to

acquisition of knowledge and skills rather than a medium of learning. These earlier findings were further augmented by studies conducted by Mlama and Materu (1977), who were commissioned by *BAKITA*. Mlama and Materu's findings were further substantiated by other studies such as Moshi (1983), Criper and Dodd, (1984), Roy-Campbell (1985, 1990), Mongella (1990) and Yahya-Othman (1990).

The main reason for the above findings could be the change in the policy of language of instruction in primary schools from English to Kiswahili in 1967 pointed out earlier. There was subsequently a drastic fall in the standard of English for those pupils who made their way into secondary schools. Furthermore, the political climate that ensued after the Arusha Declaration put less emphasis on the use of the English language in the society because it was associated with neo-colonialism. Self-reliance ideology was also meant to include the use of the national language in different sectors of life of the society. This attitude in itself caused less use of the English language and more use of Kiswahili. Therefore, in order to enable students who made their way into secondary school to cope with the secondary education that was entirely conducted in the medium of English, a six-week pre-sessional intensive English course was introduced in the late 1960s.

On the other hand, the expansion of primary education under the Universal Primary Education (UPE) described earlier meant stretching the available scarce resources thinly. Teachers were trained hastily on distance-learning programmes with brief in-house training. Some of the teachers on this programme were mainly primary school leavers who had not studied at secondary level. All these factors lead to a drastic fall in the standards of education generally and of the English language in particular in Tanzania. It is on the basis of the above observation on the dissatisfaction with the quality of education Tanzania that a Presidential Commission for Education Reforms was set up in 1980. I shall now turn to this Commission.

1.17 The Presidential Commission on Educational Reforms in Tanzania: 1980 - 2000

As pointed out earlier, in response to general feeling of dissatisfaction with the standard of education, a Presidential Commission for Educational Reforms (popularly known as the Makwetta Commission) was appointed in November 1980³⁶. The commission did a very comprehensive survey in 16 regions in Tanzania. It also visited other countries such as Malaysia, India and Korea. The findings of this report were published in 1982.

The Presidential Commission for Educational Reforms recommended a number of measures to improve the quality of education and make education meaningful to the Tanzanian community in general. The Commission observed that other countries were working hard to use their national languages as media of education and that few countries used two languages in education. It consequently recommended that there was a need for using Kiswahili as medium of instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools by January 1985, and in tertiary institutions by 1992. The observations and the recommendations were as follows:

Kiswahili is the medium of instruction in primary schools. English is taught as the first foreign language from class three (1981). English is used as a medium of instruction at secondary, tertiary and university levels. Much has been done nationally for enabling Kiswahili to be used as medium of instruction at all levels.

It is evident from educational reports of various countries that many countries are endeavouring to teach at all levels in their national languages. There are very few countries that are using two languages as medium of instruction. Tanzania is using both Kiswahili and English as media of communication with more emphasis being given to Kiswahili which is the National and Official language in Parliament and Government business.

(Makwetta, 1984:208).

³⁶ In the late 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s honest and serious attempts were made by the government of the day to educate her people – including adult education.

For the nation to promote its culture and to make education accessible to most Tanzanians after primary schooling, the Commission made the following recommendation:

The Ministry of Education (and Culture) and all its organs - the Institute of Curriculum Development, Universities in collaboration with the National Kiswahili Council - should put in place plans to enable all schools and colleges to teach all subjects in Kiswahili from form one (as per current system) with effect from January 1985 and the Universities from 1992.

(Makwetta, 1984:209).

By adopting this recommendation, the Commission argued that education would be more accessible and meaningful to all Tanzanians. However, instead of adopting the recommendations of the Makwetta Commission, the Government called in an international Commission whose findings I shall now discuss.

1.18 The Criper/Dodd Findings and Recommendations

In spite of the above observations and recommendations made by the Makwetta Commission, the government continued to insist throughout the 1980s that English remain the medium of instruction in secondary and tertiary education. To emphasise this, efforts were made to strengthen the teaching of English in secondary schools with the aid of the British government through the English Language Teaching Support Project (ELTSP), which started in 1986. The ELTSP was a result of yet another effort by the government not to heed the recommendations of many local professionals within Tanzania including the recommendations of the Presidential Commission. It should be noted that the ELTSP is a result of the recommendations made by experts from outside Tanzania. In 1983, the government - through the Ministry of Education and Culture, in consultation with the British Council had commissioned another team to look into the problem of the English language in the Tanzanian education system. This time the government commissioned Dr Criper, a linguist from Edinburgh University and Mr Dodd, a British administrator with long experience in Tanzania to carry out a study. Their findings were quite similar to those

of Mlama and Materu six years before and equally revealing of the appallingly poor competence in English language of the students in secondary schools and at the university. In their study of reading levels of Tanzanian students at all levels of education, Criper and Dodd maintained that:

- **Only 10% of Form VIs are at a level at which one might expect English-medium education to begin ...**
- **Were it not for the fact that much teaching is in practice carried out in Kiswahili.... it is hard to see how genuine education could take place at the lower secondary level ...**
- **Less than 20% of the University sample tested were at a level where they would find it easy to read even the simpler books required for their academic studies.**

(Criper and Dodd, 1984: 14, 16, 43)

Commenting on the level of English in secondary schools at the time of their study they contended that:

It (the level of English) was so totally inadequate for teaching and learning of other subjects that we feel that the Ministry of National Education cannot take a long-term view - decision has to be taken now which will lead to an early rise in the level of English. The problem should be treated as an emergency and not allowing a long-term solution. (Criper and Dodd, 1984:72).

Criper and Dodd (1984) further claimed that **the English level of Tanzanian students at all levels of education is far below the internationally accepted standard**. Their conclusion supports findings of earlier studies such as those of Kapinga (1983). For example concluded that books used in teaching English Literature in Form Three and Four were too difficult for the majority of the students in part because students' level of competence in the English language is so low. Kapinga points out that in their effort to master the school curriculum, students in secondary schools draw upon English language resources by making the language of their learning an integral part of their thinking and communication. The educational implication of this is that, a student with inadequate reading competence in English starts with a severe handicap. This may quickly, and sometimes disastrously, lead to poor performance or even failure in other academic subjects (Andersen, 1975; Osbiston, 1980; Mvungi, 1982 and Campbell and Qorro 1997). There is enough

evidence of this at the end-of-year University examinations at UDSM and SUA as expressed by both subject specialists and external examiners (personal communication).

Although Criper and Dodd came up with findings similar to those of previous studies, the recommendations they made were quite different. After having concluded their empirical research, they stated categorically that English had ceased to be a viable medium of education in Tanzania. However, instead of abandoning English they recommended a programme to improve English skills, the ELTSP (which was funded by the British Government) (Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1997). One of the conditions for funding the ELSTP was that English language should continue as the medium of instruction in secondary schools in Tanzania. This clearly supports the hypothesis that 'language policy is a product of a "higher policy"' (Phillipson, 1992).

However, despite efforts made by the ELSTP, the issue of poor English language has resurfaced recently with the continuing poor academic performance of students especially in secondary education at both "O" and "A" - levels; and also in the institutions of higher learning in the country. Students who got secondary education under the ELTSP and been made their way into institutions of higher learning continued to under-achieve academically because of the language factor, in spite of this training. This is partly reflected in the reports of external examiners to UDSM and SUA as pointed out earlier. Similarly, University Screening Tests conducted by the CSU-UDSM and CSU-SUA respectively show low levels of English language competence of students who had passed through the ELTSP and admitted for degree programmes. Furthermore, the ELTSP ended in 1996. Its report, *Impact Assessment Study*, has been released (Rea-Dickins *et. al*, 1997, **see Annex 7**). In its executive summary of conclusions, the report points out that "taking the sample as a whole, the mean score in the UST for 1989 is higher than those for 1991 and 1994" (p.2). The report further points that,

"For whatever reason, the end of 10 years of ELTSP is marked with lack of expertise in the area of English language education, i.e. at the level of decision

making, curriculum planning and evaluation. What has not emerged is a cadre of highly qualified Tanzanians in areas of Applied English Linguistics i.e. professionals who are in a position to inform policy, to initiate language developments, and to carry out research”.

(Rea-Dickins *et. al*, 1997:228 - 229).

As pointed out earlier, Kiswahili, which is both the official and national language in Tanzania, is currently the medium of instruction in primary schools and English (*the second official language*) is taught as the first foreign language from class three in primary schools. English on the other hand, is used as the medium of instruction at secondary, post-secondary training institutions and university levels. According to a number of authorities, only 5% of the total of Tanzanian population of about 32m people can communicate effectively in English. (Polome and Hill, 1980; Voegelin and Voegelin, 1977; Schemied, 1986; Ethnologue, 1996).

As pointed out earlier, currently only about 13% of the primary school pupils make their way into secondary schools and the remaining 87% return to the rural area where the majority of the Tanzanian population live and where the main occupation is peasant farming. Of the 13% who make their way into secondary education, only about 20% find their way into post-secondary institutions and tertiary education (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1998). On completing their training, most of those who find employment work in situations where there is minimal use of the English language.

Students who make their way into post-primary school institutions only use English in the classroom while when outside they use Kiswahili or the language of their ethnic group. Even within the classroom students get few chances to use English (Talis, 1987).

It would appear from the above, that language-planning statements are driven either by vested interests (of the elites) or by powerlessness (of the government) to adopt changes. Criper and Dodd were both respected experts but nevertheless part of the

British system. Although clearly honourable as individuals, they were outsiders unable to perceive the problem from a Tanzanian point of view. Similarly, Tanzanian elites who read the report were equally well motivated, but lacked the expertise necessary to think through the consequences of what Criper and Dodd instinctively felt to be the right policy. Although to the government, the right strategy meant the furtherance of the national language, neither the British Government nor indeed any foreign government could be expected to provide whole-hearted support either economic or intellectual, for the promotion of Kiswahili. Consequently the Tanzanian Government submitted to the recommendations of the foreign experts regardless of its own national project priorities because of foreign aid considerations. The success of any *Swahilisation* policy was also undermined because certain sections of the Tanzanian elite chose English for themselves and their children (as this study will further reveal in later chapters).

To-date none of the recommendations for the implementation of *Swahilisation* in post-primary education has been implemented. Instead Criper and Dodd's recommendations were implemented (see above). At the same time, the standard of English language of secondary/university students is perceived to be lower than was the case in the 1960s and 1970s. The universities are now receiving students with appalling language deficiency as shown in the external examiners' reports of the end-of-year university examinations. In 1.0 above I pointed out that to remedy this situation, higher learning institutions such as UDSM and SUA established communication skills units to help university entrants improve their study skills and language competence. It has been pointed out that reports from these Units indicate that English language has become a barrier to the acquisition of knowledge and skills in secondary schools in Tanzania. This is indicated by the fact that those students who join tertiary education are not competent enough in the language (see also *footnote* on the *Tanzania Human Rights Report of 1999*).

Once again I must point out an obvious unwillingness on the part of the government authorities to tackle a frustrating and threatening situation coupled with apparent powerlessness to construct in all necessary detail the practical steps necessary for the implementation of the policy of *Swahilisation* of the medium of instruction in secondary schools. It is hoped that this study will help shed light on some of the most important adjustments necessary to make such implementation possible.

Let me turn to more recent education and training policy promulgation in Tanzania, which also raises the question of the medium of instruction in secondary schools and tertiary education.

1.19 Tanzania Integrated Education and Training Policy 1993 and 1995

Given the fact that so far none of the previous language, education and training policy in Tanzania has been seriously implemented, there have been several policy statements regarding this issue. For example, with regard to secondary schools, the *1993 Education and Training Policy* stipulates the following objectives:

- **Objective 1:** to consolidate and broaden the scope of base-line ideas, knowledge, skills and principles acquired and developed at the primary education level;
- **Objective 2:** to enhance further development and appreciation of national unity, identity and ethnic, personal integrity, respect for and readiness to work, human rights, cultural and moral values, customs, traditions and civic responsibilities and obligations;
- **Objective 3:** to promote the development of competency in linguistic ability and effective use of communication skills in Kiswahili and at least in one foreign language;
- **Objective 4:** to provide opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge skills, attitudes and understanding in prescribed or selected fields of study;
- **Objective 5:** to prepare students for tertiary and higher education, vocational, technical and professional training;
- **Objective 6:** to inculcate a sense of and ability for self-study, self-confidence and self-advancement in new frontiers of science and technology, academic and occupational knowledge, and skills;
- **Objective 7:** to prepare students to join the world of work.

These objectives seem to suggest a commitment to the national language in education.

However, with regard to higher and tertiary education in their Integrated Education and Training Policy the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education say:

Inadequate communication skills in general and lack of proficiency in English language, in particular, has plagued the education system from primary to university level. At secondary level, the problem is exacerbated by both teachers' and students' inability to communicate well in English; teacher-student interactions in classrooms tend to be overshadowed by the use of Kiswahili or a combination of both Kiswahili and English. Besides the adverse effects on the teaching-learning process, students acquire bad communication habits and thereby fail to develop appropriate linguistic and grammatical expressions necessary for English language proficiency. Language proficiency can only be enhanced if both teachers and students are required to use a common medium of communication at all times during classroom instruction. Therefore: **The Medium of instruction for secondary education shall continue to be English except for the teaching of other approved languages.**

(Tanzania Integrated Education and Training Policy, 1993:43-4. Emphasis original).

Here is clear evidence of full awareness of the seriousness of the situation coupled with a reversal of the commitment to progressive Swahilisation.

Two years later we witness another education and training policy, the *Integrated Education and Training Policy* of 1995. The 1995 Policy, like the official position of 1993, also gave emphasis to English as the medium of education in secondary schools stating that

the medium of instruction in primary schools shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject from standard 1.

the medium of instruction for secondary education shall continue to be English except for the teaching of other approved languages, and Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject up to Ordinary level.

the medium of instruction for teacher education at certificate level shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject while for diploma and degree level teacher education and training, English shall be used, except for

foreign language teaching, which will be in the relevant language itself, and Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject.

(Ministry of Education and Culture, 1995).

1.20 Tanzania Cultural Policy 1997

These education and training policies were followed by *Tanzania Cultural Policy (Sera ya Utamaduni)* of 1997. Once again there was an apparent U-turn in policy. The *Cultural Policy* emphasises the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction at all levels of the education system in Tanzania. It says:

A special programme to enable the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in education and training at all levels shall be designed and implemented.

And

Kiswahili shall be compulsory subject in pre-primary, primary and secondary education and shall be encouraged in higher education. In addition the teaching of Kiswahili shall be strengthened.

(Ministry of Education and Culture, 1997: 3).

Regarding Foreign Languages, the policy documents states:

English language shall be a compulsory subject in pre-primary, primary, and secondary education levels and shall be encouraged in higher education. In addition the teaching of English shall be strengthened.

And

The teaching of other foreign languages such as French, Portuguese and Russian shall be encouraged.

(Ministry of Education and Culture 1997: 2 – 3)

The above wishful thinking however, will inevitably remain just that in the absence of a well-worked out and funded implementation programme. Once again, however, it has to be noted that lack of the necessary expertise meant the change was unlikely to occur and that the *status quo* will probably continue under its own momentum for a long while.

Upon his appointment, the Chairman of *BAKITA* paid a courtesy call upon the President of the United Republic of Tanzania in 1996. Among other things, the question of changing the medium of instruction in the education system in Tanzania was raised. According to the Chairman, the President informed the Chairman that the government had already made a decision and it was a matter of implementation (Personal communication). The *Cultural Policy* above was the resulting action.

However, the President of United Republic of Tanzania in his opening speech at the Education Sector Reform and Development Programme in March 1999 had this to say:

The medium with which to understand, and make oneself understood, is language. In reviewing education policy and strategy, therefore, we cannot avoid addressing the question of language, of the medium of instruction. **The nascent national debate must be widened and taken to its conclusion as to what level of education Kiswahili must continue to be the language of instruction.** Whatever the outcome of the debate, it is utmost important that our learned people must be able to write and to speak in perfect English and if possible one or more foreign languages. For it defies logic that we should have people who cannot converse in at least one foreign language... Secondly our learned people must be able to write and speak in perfect Kiswahili. For herein lies their ability, in our national language, to conduce thought, impart knowledge and to inculcate reflection and national unity, and our common humanity. ... Kiswahili is the pedigree of our nation, the fabric that cuts across all our diverse ethnic origins, holding us together, and identifying us as one people, in our united country. We must not lose sight of its supreme importance in our national unity.... (My own emphasis).

(Presidential Speech, March 1999)

The above statement does not reflect what the Chairman of *BAKITA* was told in 1996 nor the *1997 Cultural Policy* i.e. that there is no longer a debate on the question of the medium instruction but a matter of implementation by the government bodies. The Vice President of the United Republic of Tanzania recently reaffirmed Swahilisation of education at the opening ceremony of an International Workshop on Kiswahili, stating: The government is committed to make Kiswahili the medium of instruction at

all levels of education as part of the 1997 Cultural Policy. What we want now is the implementation of the decisions already made³⁷ (see **Annex 8**).

A similar statement was made earlier by the Deputy Minister for Education and Culture at the inauguration of the new board of Governors of the National Kiswahili Council of Tanzania (*BAKITA*) who vowed that Kiswahili shall be effectively used as the medium of education by 2010³⁸ (see **Annex 8**).

From the above citations it is clear that Tanzania does have a policy to promote the national language in its education system. However, it is clear that the government vacillates from time to time and has an inability to implement this language policy effectively. As stated earlier, in 1969 the government had already issued a directive that the medium of instruction in secondary schools would be Kiswahili with effect from 1970. This fact was further emphasised in the Second Phase of the Five - Year Development Plan (1969 – 1974). However, later policy statements indicated that *English “shall continue to be the medium of instruction in secondary schools”*. Recent policy statements however, indicate that Kiswahili is once again being promoted as medium of instruction. This vacillation severely handicaps the aims and objectives of secondary education stipulated in the *1993 Integrated Education and Training Policy* for a number of reasons. First, the continued use of English as the educational medium seems to block opportunities for students' acquisition of knowledge, skills, attitudes and understanding in various subjects in the curriculum as stipulated in Objectives 1 and 2 of the *1993 Education and Training Policy* as studies such as those of Materu and Mluma (1977) demonstrate. Secondly, the present language policy in which *English only* is the medium of instruction at secondary level affects acquisition of language skills in both Kiswahili and English. What is happening in the meantime in secondary schools and even in the institutions of higher learning is

³⁷ An Opening speech by the Vice President, Dr. Omar Ali Juma, delivered (in Kiswahili) at the International Workshop on Kiswahili organised by the Institute of Kiswahili Research (*TUKI*) at UDSM on 20.3.2000.

³⁸ Speech by the Deputy for Education and Culture, Bujiku Sakila, at the inauguration of the new Board of Governors of *BAKITA*.

that both Kiswahili and English are being used interchangeably in teaching different subjects unofficially as pointed out by Rubagumya (1993). This results in our secondary schools students being semi-literate in English while at the same time not developing literacy in the Kiswahili language. We should not lose sight of the fact that the situation is not a simple diglossia. Kiswahili is not a mother tongue for most students but a national *lingua franca* (as there are one hundred and twenty tribes in Tanzania, each with its own language). The choice is between two 'Foreign Languages', i.e. two acquired languages rather than the more typical situation of a prestige language replacing a vernacular mother tongue. Furthermore, what is meant by ... *the teaching of Kiswahili shall be strengthened*, as stipulated in the *1997 Cultural Policy Document*? There seems to have been no implementation of this. One might ask if this is lack of will or lack of resources.

1.21 Re-emergence of the English-medium primary schools in Tanzania

Despite all the efforts made to make Tanzania self-sufficient in its skilled manpower requirement as stipulated in the Fifteen- Year Development Plan (1964 – 1980), by the mid-1970s it became apparent that expatriates (from overseas) were still in big demand in Tanzania. These expatriates came to work in Tanzania with their families. Their children needed education while in Tanzania. *'International English-medium primary schools'* were established in major towns to cater for the needs of these children. Tanzanian children however, were not allowed into these schools first, because the medium was English and second, the fee was charged in dollars (and no Tanzanian was allowed to own foreign currency at that time). By the early 1990s, most expatriates had left the country. Once again Westerners left behind another legacy; English-medium primary education in the country was regarded as an elite choice. At the same time global changes in the East European countries had forced Tanzania to abandon its socialist one-party policy, which was very strong in late sixties and as late as the end of eighties. This paved way for the privatisation process in Tanzania. Among the new developments was the mushrooming of the English-medium primary

schools for local Tanzanians (see **Annex 3** and Chapter Six for more details on this subject).

1.22 The Role of Language in Education and the Role of Education in achieving National Development Objectives: Background

After gaining her independence from Britain in 1961, Tanzania (then Tanganyika) embarked on economic, social and political strategies with a view towards modernisation. It was however, not until 1964 when concrete development strategies began to take shape. In 1964 a fifteen-year development plan (consisting five-year three phases) was announced. The major objectives of the plan were as follows:

- to train and attain self-sufficiency in middle- and high-level manpower;
- to raise the income per capita from TSh. 400 to 1000 (Pound Sterling 20 to 50 at that time)
- to raise the life expectancy from 35 to 50 years;

As pointed out earlier, the biggest milestone in the history of socio-economic and political development in Tanzania however, was the announcement of the Arusha Declaration on 5.2.1967 (see **1.16** above). More than thirty years now since these earlier attempts to bail out the nation out of poverty, ignorance and diseases, today Tanzania is still in the lowest bracket of the poorest nations in the world with over 45% of its population living in abject poverty (*Vision 2025*).

1.23 Tanzania National Development Vision 2025

However, we now turn to an attempt at a more global and integrated policy formulation in the *Vision 2025*. This study does not intend to evaluate the achievements and failures of the fifteen-year development plans and those of the Arusha Declaration of the late sixties and early seventies. However, almost four decades after these plans were first put into action (in the mid-sixties), Tanzania is still

grappling with economic and social problems resulting in the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor internationally and intranationally. The *National Development Vision 2025* (in short *Vision 2025*) is an attempt to reverse these past failures.

According to *Vision 2025*, a vision is defined as an articulation of a desirable future condition or situation which a nation envisages to attain and the plausible course of action to be taken for its achievement (*Vision 2025* p.2). In a nutshell, the *Vision 2025* envisages a future society in which a Tanzanian, who is born today, will probably be a young parent, and a Tanzanian who has just joined the labour force will be preparing for retirement. It is hoped that through the achievements of *Vision 2025* these Tanzanians will be living in a substantially developed society with high quality of livelihood (*Vision 2025* p.2). The *Vision* further states that Tanzania of 2025 should be a nation imbued with five main attributes, which are:

- high quality of livelihood;
- peace, stability and unity;
- good governance through the rule of law;
- a well educated and learning society; and
- a strong and competitive economy capable of producing sustainable growth and shared benefits (*Vision 2025* p.2).

Of very significant importance, *Vision 2025* sees education as strategic agent for mindset transformation and for the creation of a well-educated nation (*cf.* the philosophy for the ESR in 1.16 above). It is therefore recommended that the education system needs to be restructured and transformed qualitatively with a focus on promoting creativity and problem solving.

These aims and objectives of (*Vision 2025*) are not very different from those of the development plans of the 1960s and 1970s. Nor are they significantly different from those of the 1967 *Arusha Declaration*. To carry out the objectives of *Vision 2025*,

emphasis is put on investing in the training of the citizens so as to produce citizens of the 21st century - the era of science and technology with a view to reducing the gap between the rich and the poor.

Agriculture is the livelihood of most people in Tanzania and of the economy in general. The majority of the rural population is engaged in agriculture mostly of a small-subsistence nature. However, the sector is still underdeveloped and backward. As pointed out earlier, at independence Tanzania declared war on ignorance, poverty and diseases. Several approaches were used to achieve set targets at that time. However, these were never met. More than 35 years on, Tanzania is still being faced by major challenges such as poverty alleviation, lack of assurance of food security and eradication of malnutrition and the protection of the environment. For example in the health sector, morbidity and mortality is still very high while life expectancy is still low. The targets of the *Vision 2025* cannot be realised without raising agricultural productivity. To do so, a well-educated nation in general and a resilient and knowledgeable workforce in the agricultural sector in particular is essential. In short therefore, the major aims of the *Vision 2025* as stated in the document are as follows:

- to achieve high level socio-economic development by exploiting fully the country's abundantly existing natural resources so as to improve standard of life of both urban and rural dwellers by providing clean and safe water and primary health care;
- to modernise the agricultural sector - which is the backbone of the national economy;
- to increase enrolment in primary education so as to reach 100% for all school age children (*cf.* UPE above);
- to increase enrolment in secondary and tertiary education with major focus on quality education in the development of science and technology in order to train competent and skilled manpower to meet the demands and challenges of the 21st Century.

Clearly education is only one element in a complex set of reasons for lack of economic progress in Tanzania. The level and amount of investment, international market pressure, debt servicing³⁹ (which is one of the IMF conditionalities to give further loans, aids and grants to Tanzania) have also been factors contributing to lack of economic progress. However, education is an element and one, which can be tackled internally. It will not solve all of this but setting it right can only help.

1.24 Re-Statement of the Problem and Purpose of the Study

Tanzania's education language policy since independence has been vacillating. To date, several statements on education language policy have been issued. Above all, recommendations of the Presidential Commission for Education have not been implemented. This vacillation in education language policy and the indecision on the implementation of the recommendation of the Presidential Commission for Education is costing Tanzanians a lot socially, economically, technologically and culturally. Studies such as those by Mlama and Materu (1977), Criper and Dodd (1984) and Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1987) discussed above show that English language acts as a barrier to Tanzanian learners rather than a tool for the acquisition of knowledge and skills. The studies further show that the standard of education has fallen, the reasons are many and varied, but the language factor is one of them. For this reason, the country's workforce is ill equipped with knowledge and skills. Furthermore, due to continued use of English as the medium of instruction in secondary schools and in tertiary education, most of the literature on research findings in general, and in agriculture in particular remains in the English language. Since it is only five per cent of the population who can communicate in English in the country (Ethnologue 1995, Polome and Hill 1980b), these findings remain in the archives of the universities' and libraries of other learning institutions in the country. As far as agricultural research findings are concerned, peasants cannot access them because of this language factor. For example, Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA), Ministry of Agriculture and

³⁹ Today, 40% of Tanzania's budgetary expenditure goes to debt repayments, another 40% is allocated to salaries. Foreign debt servicing has been a major factor behind deteriorating human development performance. (Ndeki, A. 1998, Commissioner of Education Tanzania.

Livestock Development (MALD) and other agricultural training institutions (MATIs) in the country conduct a lot of on-farm research on soil fertility, farming systems, agricultural practices etc. However, experts and researchers such as university lecturers write most of their research reports in English and these are therefore inaccessible, except by word of mouth, to ordinary peasants, who are, in the final analysis, the producers of the nation's wealth.

More recently, however, the Tanzania government has come up with the *1997 Cultural Policy*. In this document the government has made a firm decision to make Kiswahili the medium of education in secondary schools and possibly in institutions of higher learning by year 2010. At the same time, Tanzania is soon to embark on implementing the *National Development Vision 2025 (Vision 2025)*. However, if the current trend of inconsistency in language policy continues, the country's educational quality would be further affected and *Vision 2025* will be compromised. Furthermore, if the research findings in the country remain in English, most peasants may not benefit fully from them thereby defeating the whole idea of meeting the challenges of the 21st Century.

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to investigate, at an institutional level in Tanzania, i.e. at the implementation stage:

- The knowledge of the chief protagonists about language policy, particularly the medium of instruction in their respective learning institutions;
- The commitment of these groups to implement these policies;
- The opinion of the executives regarding the question of English language as medium of instruction in the Tanzanian education system in general and in the institutions of higher learning in particular.
- Consequences for the student body of implementation and non-implementation of policy. And how this will impinge on wider society.

1.25 Concluding Remarks.

Biased opinion, scare mongering or just wishful thinking has clouded the discussion of the language in education issue as government policy shows. This study undertakes to examine in detail, one sector of Tanzanian society most sensitive to the effective functioning of the English language in academic and international context i.e. the University. This is because the university graduates are on the one hand highly educated people and crucial in the country's development of high-level skilled manpower and on the other hand, because university education is regarded the conduit through which knowledge from outside the borders of Tanzania enter the country. As the President of the United Republic of Tanzania put it in his opening speech at the Education Sector Reform and Development (mentioned earlier) that "*our learned people must be able to write and to speak in perfect English and if possible one or more foreign languages. Secondly, our learned people must be able to write and speak in Kiswahili*". While I agree with the President, the question remains; "how can we achieve this in Tanzania"? This study intends to suggest possible strategies to overcome the problem in order to make Tanzanians keep abreast with modernity and the globalisation process as a whole, while at the same time maintaining the national cohesion and prosperity through the national language.

I shall now turn to **Chapter Two**, which outlines the body of theoretical work that will inform this investigation.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL BACKGROUND TO LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING (LPP)

2.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explain some important concepts concerning language and its functions: language and socialisation, language and contact, language and ideology and language and nation. The chapter will then look at some definitions of language policy and planning (henceforth LPP), from historical and theoretical perspectives, globally and in pre- and independent Tanzania. The central issue will be the function of an official/national language and the role/function(s) of a second/foreign language in Tanzania today. Let me begin by looking at what language is.

2.1 What is Language?

Haugen (1983) points out the fact that most people take for granted the language into which they were born, the one spoken in their home and by their playmates. They learn it as a matter of course, and it appears to be of no more consequence than the air they breathe. Yet without either one they could not grow up to be human beings. Lack of air would kill the individual but lack of language would kill the society. From Haugen's discussion it is clear that language is more complex than we think. So what is language?

Collins COBUILD dictionary defines language in a number of ways. Primarily however, it is a system of communication which consists of a set of sounds and written symbols which are used by the people of a particular country or region for talking or writing in. Pinker (1994) put it more strongly: a common language connects the members of a community into an information-sharing network with formidable collective power. It is so tightly woven into human experience that it is scarcely possible to imagine life without it. He argues that human language stems from biological make-up of our brains. He states that:

Language is a complex, specialised skill, which develops in the child spontaneously, without conscious efforts or formal instruction, is deployed without awareness of its underlying logic, is qualitatively the same in every individual, and is distinct from more general abilities to process information or behave intelligently. (p. 18)

Pinker (op.cit.) therefore argues that language is an instinct and points out that Darwin first articulated this idea in 1871 in *The Descent of Man*. According to Darwin,

Language is an art like brewing or baking; but writing would have been a better simile. It certainly is not true instinct for every language has to be learned. It differs, however, widely from all ordinary arts, for man has an instinctive tendency to speak, as we see in the babble of our young children; while no child has an instinctive tendency to brew, bake or write. Language ability is an instinctive tendency to acquire an art (p.18)

Chomsky (1975) who regards human language as a system of remarkable complexity holds views similar to those of Pinker, and he calls language “a mirror of the mind”. Chomsky argues that the brain must contain a recipe or programme that can build an unlimited set of sentences out of a finite list of words. He calls this programme a mental grammar. According to Chomsky, a normal child acquires this knowledge on relatively slight exposure and without training and grows up to give consistent interpretation to novel sentence construction that they have never before encountered (p.4). Thus according to Chomsky, children must innately be equipped with a plan to the common grammars of all languages, a Universal Grammar that tells them how to distil syntactic patterns of the speech of their parents.

However, this relatively painless acquisition of a first language is not repeated for languages learnt later in life and this is an important factor in the discussion in this thesis.

Having discussed the nature of language let me now turn to the function of language. As social animals, human beings use language as a tool to remember their past, organise the present and plan the future. Kramsch (1998:3) argues that people express facts, ideas or events that are communicable because they refer to a stock of knowledge about the world that other people in their community share. Language is

therefore a repository of common culture, history, knowledge, beliefs, facts, ideas or events in their respective community because language expresses their cultural reality.

Language on the other hand, is arbitrary. People agree to give names to physical objects, abstractions etc. and share the meaning in their respective speech communities (i.e. attaching a *signifier* (a word) to a *signified* (the concept) of an object, person etc). It is this arbitrariness, which binds human beings in a community because language embodies their cultural reality (Saussure, 1911). This process is dynamic because people are continually creating language to express experiences. People also create experience through language.

Language also helps to create identity to differentiate one group from another, one ethnic group from another or one profession from another. Kramsch (op.cit.3) points out that, speakers identify themselves and others through their use of language; they view language as one of the symbols of their social identity. Thus language symbolises cultural reality.

In short therefore we can say that language allows people to associate and participate in different activities in their community. It allows people to share views, ideas and knowledge about themselves and the world they share or those of other people in other communities. Language enables people to build a community and it is a symbol of that community. This too is an important point in the debate since Tanzania is a country engaged in building a cohesive nation.

2.2 Language and Socialisation

Since the above is the case, how then do people acquire a language? As pointed out earlier, all children have the capacity to learn any languages and all languages are equal for that matter. It was the unquestionable belief of the linguists in the late twentieth century that all languages were of equal value since all had the potential to be

developed for any function that was necessary for the group. For example, Chomsky said that

Language is a set of very specific universal principles, which are intrinsic properties of the human mind and part of our species' genetic endowment. Such principles are what permit any normal child to learn any natural language (quoted by Downes, 1984:20 21).

Thus it is assumed that children are socialised through language into their particular shared cultural groups. The children in fact usually learn/acquire just one language in the family situation i.e. the mother tongue. The mother tongue has all the symbolic weight of primary identity and belonging. Kramsch (1998) argues that people who identify themselves as members of a social group (family, neighbourhood, professional or ethnic affiliation, nation) require common ways of viewing the world through their interactions with other members of the same group. These views are reinforced through institutions like the family, the school, the workplace, the church and other sites of socialisation throughout their life (p.6). (This leads us to the notion of speech community, which is composed of people who use the same linguistic code; and of discourse communities to refer to the common ways in which members of a social group use language to meet their social needs).

In the case of Tanzania, there are more than one hundred and thirty ethnic groups each with its own languages. Every child from these speech communities is first socialised into their respective groups through their mother tongues. (This feature is not only common in Tanzania but in most African countries). Fardon and Furniss (1994) call it multilingualism of individuals. According to them,

Multilingualism is the African *lingua franca*....a multilayered and partially connected language chain...a set that is always liable to be reconnected more densely to a new environment by rapid secondary language learning, or by the development of new languages (Fardon and Furniss, 1994:4)

Children then learn other *lingua francas* such as Kiswahili and English or languages of other ethnic group in their immediate neighbourhood. This brings me to the notion of a *lingua franca*.

2.3 Languages of contact – *Lingua francas*

Lingua francas are needed as soon as the group is no longer isolated⁴⁰ (i.e. the need to communicate across divides). Many groups need a *lingua franca* for trade, exchange and for domination. For example, Edwards (1985) points out that the use of a 'large' language, across group boundaries, has immediate appeal on purely communicative grounds, and those for whom such *lingua franca* is not the mother tongue do not inevitably desert their original variety. However, it is apparent that *lingua francas* may, over time, also assume that symbolic significance which is so important in the language – the identity link (p.34) (e.g. Kiswahili in Tanzania). A similar example is the *Afrikaans* language, which developed from a *lingua franca* in the Cape colony as the language of trade and home language for the children of slaves at the end of the seventeenth century to one of the major official languages in South Africa today (Alexander, 1994).

To shed more light on this subject of *lingua franca*, Wright (2000a) argues that

The fear of those we cannot understand and the threat posed by a multiplicity of idioms, are mitigated by the development of *lingua franca* (p.120). She points out that Greek was probably the first to play that role of *lingua franca* in Europe whereby Koine (an accepted standard) dialect created a community of communication in the wake of the empire of Alexander the Great. Greek was widely used in the eastern Mediterranean for several centuries (p.120).

She adds that this role as *lingua franca* coexisted with another purpose for Greek. Language was one of the defining criteria of group membership in the Greek world. Those who were not part of Greek society were *barbaroi*, i.e. those who could not speak Greek and who uttered incomprehensible babbling noise. By extension, those who could not be understood and who could not communicate were strangers, foreigners and, ultimately, the enemy. (As a *lingua franca*, Greek survived into the

⁴⁰ For example in my undergraduate language project in 1982, I investigate "*language use in a multilingual settlement of Dumbachand in Mbulu District, Tanzania*" where after the *Villagization Act* of 1974 I found that more than eight ethnic groups lived. The findings showed that Kiswahili was the language of choice in different situations such as cattle auction mart, government village

Modern era, becoming the sacred language of the eastern tradition of Christianity, the Orthodox Church) (p.120).

Wright (op.cit.) cites another example of a *lingua franca* in Europe, Latin, which was first used as the language of military rule and administration throughout the Roman Empire. It was then used as the language of political thought, philosophy and culture and finally as the language of the religious thought of the (Roman) Catholic Church (p.120).

Examples of *lingua francas* from other parts of the world include Kiswahili, which grew as the main *lingua franca* during the Arab slave trade in most parts of East Africa such as Tanzania, Kenya, northern Mozambique, Malawi and Eastern Congo from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Later the Germans and the British colonial governments in Tanzania adopted it as the language of administration (see Chapter One). Bamgbose (1994b) succinctly explains this feature of *lingua franca* in Africa by stating that:

Because of the utility of such languages as Akan in Ghana, Wolof in Senegal, Hausa in Northern Nigeria, Lingala in Zaire, not to speak of the more widely spoken Swahili in Eastern Africa, speakers of different languages are embracing them as second language (Bamgbose 1994b: 34).

Similarly, Malay became the *lingua franca* of the Spice Islands in the Far East from the seventeenth century. French became a *lingua franca* in most parts of Europe at about the same date.

Wright (2000a) writing on the European Union, (EU) makes the case for a *lingua franca*, a community of communication where there is a desire for common endeavours, e.g. for democracy within an evolving polity.

meetings etc. Calvet (1992) reports similar situation that in markets in Cotonou, Brazzaville and Abidjan, French is the market language.

To show how the notion of *lingua franca* has grown to an international level, Ager (1999) argues that:

If it is essential to acquire a language in order to negotiate in the market, to make purchases and survive in Africa on a day-to-day level, it is for some people equally important, and probably important in the same way, to have available a means of communication to enable to buy and sell on the international level. In order to facilitate globalisation and the development of international commerce, a sort of *lingua franca* has developed which enables communication to be established in specific fields, e.g. international banking and finance (Ager 1999:).

2.4 Language and nation

Language unification and nation building go hand in hand in so many situations. There are plenty of examples of this. For example the Indian and Chinese emperors used LPP as a means of unifying and improving communications in their empires, which were linguistically diversified. To rule disparate groups they identified an obvious need for a *lingua franca*. Similarly the growth of nationalism in Europe required a language for unificatory purposes. With regard to Europe, Edwards (1985) points out that the rise of linguistic nationalism goes back to Herder (1772) who argues that a nation's self-respect hinges upon its ability and willingness to defend itself, but its very existence is inconceivable without its own language (Edwards 1985:23). Edwards (op.cit.) further points out works of von Humboldt (1871) who believed in a strong interconnection between language and the development of intellectual peculiarity; that language is the spiritual exhalation of the nation; thus its language is its spirit and its spirit is its language.

From the above citations it is clear that the motto behind 'language and nation' has tended towards "one people, one language, one country"⁴¹. This was not only the case in the past but also today, as we see for example, in the *Francophone movement* in Cameroon⁴².

⁴¹ In post-independent Tanzania the motto was *Uhuru na Umoja* (Freedom and Unity) and in post-independent Zambia the motto was one people, one nation, one language and one *Kwacha* (Zambia's currency) while in Kenya it was *Harambee* (togetherness).

⁴² Although Cameroon has now adopted English and French as its official languages

The military dimension of nationalism also promoted linguistic unification. Citizens were recruited for the armies of the Napoleonic wars in Europe and World War I. These were total wars in the Clausewitzian sense where whole nations were pitched against others (Clausewitz, 1997). A sense of national identity and a more widespread use of the national language were the outcomes.

Democracy demands a community of communication so that citizens can participate in politics and politicians represent peoples' interests. The use of Kiswahili in Village government meetings, in the Parliament and Party rallies is a clear example of how (a common) language can be used by people to participate democratically in different forums – whether it be at village level, national or international.

Means to achieve nation building include such things as education, media, social engineering, language codification and standardisation, which includes dictionary making and grammar writing, and laws to prohibit/promote different languages. I shall elaborate.

First with regard to education the school has a role and a function in the maintenance of group identity and the spread of group language. Kedourie (1961) states that

the purpose of education is not to transmit knowledge, traditional wisdom, and the ways devised by the society for attending to the common concerns; its purpose is rather wholly political, to bend the will of the young to the will of the nation. Schools are instruments of state policy, like the army, the police and the exchequer (pp. 83 –4) (*cf.* ESR ideology).

Edwards (1985) argues that regardless of purely pedagogical factors, educational programmes can be seen as agents of political change: potential servants to the cause of cultural pluralism or schools can be instruments of ethnic or national policy (p.119).

Thus, education in most countries is offered in the medium of the national language to enhance national cohesion. Closely related to education is the fact that the language of literacy is standardised. Most teaching and learning materials such as textbooks are

normally printed in the language designated as the medium of education. Similarly, media, for example newspapers and other literacy materials such as the bible, are printed in the national language of the respective nation. The invention and spread of printing language went hand in hand with codification and standardisation, dictionary making and grammar writing.

Ager (1996) distinguishes between a standard language as the language of the speech community, and the official language as representing the political community. He points out that

In essence, the standard language responds to the desire for efficiency: it enables members of the speech community to function with a common range of meanings – and yet to participate in a range of domains, and to constantly modernise their range of expression. The official language/national language responds rather to the need for prestige, enabling the political community to be and remain unified, to mark its boundaries with other such communities, and to have a basis for its ideas of correctness, or right and wrong in language (p.29)

In order to achieve this, a standard language has to be developed. According to Ager (op.cit.) the development of the standard language involves the following: selection of a dialect to be developed into standard language, its codification, elaboration and acceptance. He cites the cases of French and English. In Tanzania, *TUKI* and *BAKITA* do this task for Kiswahili (see Chapter One).

Sometimes laws/decrees are passed to prohibit and promote other languages in order to reinforce the use of a standard language. For example, after the 1964 Zanzibar Revolution, Arabic and English were prohibited while Kiswahili was promoted as part of the Cultural Revolution (see Chapter One).

Another means of enhancing national unity is through social engineering. For example in France functionaries were sent to different parts of the country (Ager, 1996). Similarly, in Tanzania, which is a very large country with twenty regions (and an area of over 900,000 square Kilometres), civil servants are posted to different regions regardless of their region of origin or their ethnic group. The cadres of the ruling

Party, CCM, have been used on several occasions to mobilise people during national campaigns such as agriculture, adult literacy and health or during disasters. Other strategies included the Villagization policy of the mid-1970s. According to the 1974 *Villagization Act*, rural Tanzanians were required by law to live in *Vijiji vya Ujamaa* ('socialist villages') each with its own "village government" (see Chapter One). The language used in day-to-day activities is Kiswahili (and not the language of the respective ethnic group living in a village. Under these circumstances, the government and the ruling Party have effectively used Kiswahili language in maintaining the national unity. Blommaert (1997a) explains that Kiswahili has clearly been an ingredient in political homogenisation of the country.

As pointed out earlier, language is closely linked to social identity. In the case of a national language, it is an allegiance to the nation. Once again the choice of Kiswahili as the national language to be used in all domains of public life in post independent Tanzania provides a good example.

2.5 Language and ideology/Nationhood

Nations are established in many ways e.g. through myth, tradition and history. Language is closely associated with ideology of a nation or group; it is used to form ideologies and also its very form becomes associated with ideology.

Voloshinov (1929)⁴³ in his materialist theory of language gives an account of the relationship between language, ideology and the basic medium of ideological life i.e. *signs*. Among his books is *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (1929). With regard to language and society, Voloshinov produces a dynamic account of language, which he sees as 'being pulled in opposite directions. First, centripetally, towards the unitary centre provided by a notion of national language; and second 'centrifugally,

⁴³ Note however, in 1970 the Russian linguist Vyacheslav attributed to Bakhtin books previously thought to be by Voloshinov and Medvedev. In this respect therefore, whenever I make reference to *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, the rightful author may be Bakhtin.

towards the various languages (heteroglossia), which often underlies the apparent, but false unity of a national language'⁴⁴. According to Voloshinov/Bakhtin

Heteroglossia of society (*raznorecie* i.e. 'multispeechedness') is the multiplicity of the actual 'languages', which are at any time spoken by the speakers of any language. These are the languages of the social groups and classes, of the professional groups, of generations, different languages for different occasions that speakers adopt even within these broader distinctions. The concept of language as being dynamically pulled between the centre and the periphery, between unitary national forces and heteroglossia, describes the tensions that are holding together and pulling apart a language at any one time. This work began a whole school of thought on how even apparently unitary languages are far from homogenous. These forces, in a given social, economic, political, artistic and educational context are producing the multiple changes that constitute the history of language (Dentith, 1995:35).

Thus, according to Voloshinov, 'the divorce of the language from its ideological implementation is one of abstract objectivism's most serious errors. Language and the sign must be seen as forged in the contested domain of social interaction: The forms of signs are conditioned above all by the social organisation of the participants involved and also by the immediate conditions of their interaction' (quoted in Pennycook, 1995:31). According to Voloshinov therefore, the language of the centre is the language of dominant capitalism. Heteroglossia of the masses is reflected only as symbolic.

This work led to a very important tradition of research but the drawback was that it directs attention to intralinguistic not interlinguistic difference. Recent work on the ideological dimension of language has included much research on language and minorities.

Tollefson (1991) criticises the conventional definitions of LPP for not incorporating the ideological basis of language policy, or the historical-structural processes that shape LPP. He argues that language has been institutionalised as a basis for distinction among social groups (classes) (p.16). Tollefson's arguments derive mainly from

⁴⁴ E.g. Iceland and Portugal which are the only countries which can be termed as monolingual in Europe.

increasing linguistic diversity in many nations due to past and current immigration, emigration and migration patterns of human beings.

2.6 Language Policy and Planning (LPP).

Before I attempt to describe language Policy and Planning (LPP), I would like first of all to give the definition of the terms policy and planning separately as used in ordinary daily life. COBUILD dictionary defines policy as

‘a general set of ideas or plans that has been officially agreed on by people in authority and which is used as a basis for making decisions, especially in politics, economics, or business’ (p.1109).

It defines planning as

‘the process of deciding in detail how to do something before you actually start to do it’ (p.1093).

With these definitions let me now look at LPP.

International Encyclopaedia of Linguistics, (1992 Vol. 4: 310 - 311) defines LP in this way:

[A] deliberate, systematic, and theory-based attempt to solve the communication problems of a community by studying various languages or dialects it uses, and developing a policy concerning their selection and use; and also sometimes called language engineering or language treatment. Corpus planning deals with norm selection and codification, as in the writing of grammars and standardisation of spelling; status planning deals with the initial choice of language, include attitudes towards alternative languages and political implications of various choices (Bright, 1992 Vol. 4:310 – 311).

LPP has been inherent in society for many centuries. As pointed out earlier, the Indian and the Chinese Emperors used LPP in their empires as early as before the birth of Christ. It was also pointed out earlier that in Europe LPP was used as a means of nationalism and nation building. However, the term is modern. According to Cooper (1989), Haugen (1959) first introduced the term language planning (LP) in the literature. Haugen defined language planning as

'The activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogenous speech community (Haugen, 1959: 8).

In later years (1966 and 1969) he adds norm selection, codification, elaboration and implementation as part of LP. To these dimensions, Neustupny (1970) adds another concept to LP that is cultivation while yet Rubin (1971) adds the dimension of evaluation. Fishman (1974) calls these as major theoretical dimensions in LP.

Since Haugen's 1959 article on LP, more definitions have appeared. Cooper (1989) cites twelve of them. Among these I shall cite two, which are most relevant to my study.

The first one is by Rubin and Jernudd (1971) who define LP as

Deliberate language changes; that is, a change in the system of language code or speaking or both that are planned by organisations that are established for such purpose or given a mandate to fulfil such purposes. As such language planning is focussed on problem solving and is characterised by the formulation and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems to find the best (or optimal, most efficient) decision. (Rubin and Jernudd, 1971:xvi)

The second definition is that given by Weinstein (1980) who defines LP as

A government authorised, long term sustained and conscious effort to alter language itself or to change language's function in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems.

The National Language Project in post-independent South Africa is good example of this (Alexander, 1994)

A number of scholars suggest a third category: acquisition planning. Cooper (1989) calls 'language policy-making that involves decisions concerning the teaching and use of language, and their careful formulation by those empowered to do so, for guidance of others'.

What is involved then in LPP? Jar (1992) explains that LP involves

[O]rganised activity (official or private) which attempts to solve language problems within a given society usually at the national level. Through LP, attempts are made to direct, change, or preserve the linguistic norms or social status (and communicative function) of a given written or spoken language. LP is usually conducted according to a declared programme or a defined set of criteria, and with a deliberate goal by officially appointed committees or bodies, by private organisations, or by prescriptive linguists working on behalf of official authorities. Its object is to establish norms (primarily written), which are validated by high social status; oral norms connected with these written standards follow (op.cit: 12 –13).

From the many definitions available, there seems to be no unified theory of LPP. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) echo this in their review of LPP. They systematise the diversity however, and indicate that there are frameworks to describe and explain why and how policies have certain effects in particular contexts (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996:402). They see the field as stretching from Fishman (1974), through Cooper (1989), Ruiz (1984) to Phillipson (1992) and I shall return to this in my discussion below.

The definition of LP offered by Rubin (1971) that LP is the pursuit of solutions to language problems; and by Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971) that LP is the organised pursuit of solutions to language problems typically at the national level is simple and useful, although we should note that the problems are rarely purely linguistic.

The above definitions make clear there are two areas of LPP viz.: status planning and corpus planning. This was pointed out most clearly by Kloss (1969). Status planning involves decisions which affect the relative status of one or more languages in respect of that of others e.g. declaration of language as an official language while corpus planning is concerned with the development of and regulation of forms of the selected language itself (Herriman and Burnaby 1996:5). Cooper (1989) elaborates that status planning is the deliberate effort to influence the allocations of functions among a community's language. According to Stewart (1968) these functions are as follows: official, provisional, wider communication, international, group, educational literary, mass media, religious and work. Cooper (op.cit.) argues that these functions are targets of status planning.

I shall cite some of these functions that are relevant to my study. First, is the official language, which functions as a legally appropriate language for all political and cultural purposes on a nation-wide basis. Second the language of wider communication, which functions as a medium of communication across boundaries within the nation. This may be a language other than the national (or regional language). The third one is an international language that functions as a major medium of communication in scope, e.g. for diplomatic relations, trade, tourism etc. The fourth is the language of education that functions as a medium of primary or secondary education either regionally or nationally (Cooper: op.cit. 1989:100 - 106). With regard to this last function, Cooper (op.cit.) argues that, determining media of instruction for school systems is perhaps the state planning decision most frequently made, the one most frequently subject to strong political pressures, and the one most often considered by educationists and students of language planning (p.109).

The question of status planning in threatened minority languages is a recent phenomenon. In the past the LPP process was aimed at their eclipse or extinction. There has been a recent revival of many languages in Europe. But as Fishman (1991) argues status planning for minority languages involves the authoritative allocation of scarce resources such as intelligence, funds, time, effort and implementational power, to the solution of their language status problems and in many states there is neither sympathy nor funding for minority language maintenance.

Corpus planning is achieved by means of the publication of dictionaries and style manuals, school curricula, standards of broadcasting and the like.

2.7 Goals of LPP: Nation Building

Ager (1999) broadly defines the goals of LPP as 'deliberate efforts to influence language behaviour'. He identifies seven motives for action on language (i.e. motives

for language policy and language planning). These motives are identity, insecurity, ideology, image, inequality integration and instrumental.

Ager further argues that motives for nation building, identity formation and the correction of inequality are important to language planners at the official level. He points out that what are often called the ends or goals of language planning can be thought of in three ways: as a long-term ideal, as a more immediate and realisable objective, or as an even more precise short-term goal. Thus according to Ager, motivation for LPP normally reflects (or is reflected in) the deeper beliefs and feelings that have developed through upbringing, educational and political experiences of the individual or individuals in the decision making position. (He cites the speech of the French Prime Minister, Jospin, 1997 regarding the teaching of the Corsican language). Nyerere held similar beliefs in his philosophy on Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) in Tanzania in the 1960s.

Wiley (1996:122ff) argues that goals of language planning can be described as language goals, political goals and economic goals. He elaborates that language goals are not generally without political or economic connection and impact. Political goals thus attempt to use language as a means to promote nation building or nation unification. With regard to economic goals, he views language planning as attempts to improve communication within the country and also with the outside world.

2.8 The History of LPP globally and in Pre- and Post Independent Tanzania.

In order to bring the issues of my study to the fore, I shall now give an overview of historical developments in LPP globally and relate them to the Tanzanian situation in developing its LPP along these historical lines. This will inevitably shed light on the problem of the choice of language of instruction in the education system in Tanzania as presented in Chapter One.

Ricento (2001) examines the evolution of LPP literature as an area of research since World War II and points out that there are three stages of evolution of the LPP starting from around 1945 to 1970, 1970 to 1980 and late 1980s. In his analysis he also points out that there are three broad types of factors, which have been instrumental in shaping the field of LPP. These are the macro-sociopolitical, the epistemological and the strategic. According to Ricento, (op.cit.) the macro-sociopolitical refers to events and processes that obtain at the national or supranational level e.g. state formation (or disintegration) as was the case of decolonisation of the former colonies under European nations in 1960s. Also included under this category are the wars (hot or cold e.g. in the East European countries), population migrations and globalisation of capital and communication. Closely related to this and of significant importance to my study are the strategic factors, which concern the ends for which research is conducted e.g. demonstrating the economic costs or benefits of a particular language policy, or of justifying the implementation particular language in education policies policy. This is so because former colonies like Tanzania after gaining independence had to make some decisions about what language to use as the official/national language of the independent state and more importantly what language to use as medium of the education system.

Let me relate the above phases of LPP development to what has been going on in Tanzania as far as LPP is concerned. As pointed out above, the first stage of the LPP evolution according to Ricento (op.cit) was the period of awareness in nationalism and nation through language unification hence a need for LPP. In the Tanzanian context, this period goes to the year 1947 when TAA, (the predecessor of TANU) began actively to struggle for independence to regain 'national' identity. This time however, the struggle was on a larger scale as opposed to the tribal struggles to fight colonialism in the early days of German colonialism in the 1890s and early 1900s⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ For example, the Hehe Tribe in Iringa under Chief Mkwawa refused to be ruled by Germans and waged war from 1894 – 1898. Similarly between 1905 – 1907 there was the famous Maji Maji uprising to fight the Germans against poll tax and exploitative labour on the cotton farms.

While the early struggles involved an indigenous tribe using only one ethnic language, the new struggle for independence involved people from all ethnic groups within Tanzania united by an ideology in which a language was also embodied. Thus when TANU was formed in 1954, one of its ideologies was to have common language (Kiswahili) in the struggle for independence (see Chapter One). After gaining independence, the ideologies of the party became the national ideologies⁴⁶. Thus Kiswahili was made the national language and the language of nation building (i.e. it had a role in the formation of Tanzanian nation and national unification). This was enhanced through government's deliberate efforts to form *TUKI* and *BAKITA* (see Chapter One). This is because during this period, LPP was viewed as a top-down approach (emanating from the government authorities). There was a desire by the government to categorise and plan language to solve any language problems, which might hinder national unity and development in general. This was clearly an attempt by LPP to repeat the European nation building of the nineteenth century and was necessary because Tanzania was a construct of colonial system when the borders were set. The nation did not have a prior existence.

Fishman (1968) commenting on the goals of language planning with regard to 'new nations' reveals a widely held view that:

The language problems of ethnically fragmented new nations reflect a relatively greater emphasis on political integration and on the efficient nationalism on which it initially depends. Language selection is relatively short lived-lived problem since the linguistic tie to the technological and political modernity is usually unambiguous. Problems of language development, codification, and acceptance are also minimal as long as these processes are seen as emanating justifiably and primarily from the metropolitan country. Although some attention may be given to the pedagogic demands of initial literacy (or transitional literacy) for young people, the lion's share of literacy effort and resources is placed at the disposal of spreading the adopted Western tongue of political and social cultural integration (Fishman, 1968:492)

Ricento (2001) points out that such views led to the belief that the task of language planners in the new nations was to modernise the classical standard languages (like

⁴⁶ Other TANU's ideologies were socialism, whereby the first Party policy paper *Ujamaa Vijijini* (Socialism in the Villages) came out in 1962 followed by its implementation in 1974 under

Kiswahili) to cope with Western technology and procedure and to hasten literacy participation.

To complement status planning in Tanzania, corpus planning followed to make Kiswahili fit for use as the national language. Thus Kiswahili Research Institute (*TUKI*) was formed in 1964 and National Kiswahili Council, (*BAKITA*)⁴⁷ was formed in 1967 (see Chapter One). According to Blommaert (1994a) two approaches, *development* and *modernisation* were adopted by *TUKI* to carry out corpus planning. Thus, *TUKI* was assigned a scientific task of proposing all kinds of linguistic measures to improve the standard of Kiswahili and enhance its spread and absorption by the people (Blommaert 1994a). This therefore reflects the earlier political decisions of the ruling Party, TANU, to make Kiswahili language of all Tanzanians.

According to Whiteley (1974) when *BAKITA* was formed, it covered both status and corpus planning functions. That is

- to promote the development and usage of Kiswahili language throughout the United Republic of Tanzania;
- to encourage the use of Kiswahili language in the conduct of official business and public life generally;
- to encourage the achievement of high standards in the use of Kiswahili language and discourage its misuse.

According to Massamba⁴⁸ (1987), in the Tanzanian context and with regard to Kiswahili, language development is therefore viewed as

A deliberate move by a social group (i.e. the nation) to adopt, to choose from available dialects or languages or even invent a language for the sole purpose of equipping it with the capability of being used as medium of instruction or communication. In order for this end to be realised a number of factors have to be considered seriously. These

Villagization Act of 1974. The other ideology was (democratic) education for all, which was followed by the *Education Act of 1978* on Universal Primary Education (UPE).

⁴⁷ Parallel with *TUKI* and *BAKITA* was the formation of the National Art Council (*Baraza la Sanaa la Taifa BASATA*)

⁴⁸ Dr Massamba works with *TUKI* and was one of its former Directors.

factors are such as language policy, language planning and language modernisation (p.180).

In line with the scholars from the western tradition, Massamba defines language development as an overall term denoting a three-step programme consisting of:

- language policy, i.e. an elaborate statement of priorities formulated by the nation;
- language planning, i.e. the scientific translation of language policy into a plan for scientific research;
- language modernisation, i.e. concrete steps undertaken by scholars within the framework of language planning.

With regard to language modernisation, Massamba (op.cit.) views it as:

The development of a language in a way that will enable it to express both new and technological concepts. The most crucial aspect of language modernisation is the development of scientific and/ or technical neologisms (p.184)

In actuality language planning in Tanzania is now characterised by three domains which fall mainly into the corpus and acquisition planning categories. These are:

- language planning for pedagogic purposes, i.e. the production of adequate textbooks and didactic materials for formal education in the target language Kiswahili;
- language planning for normative purposes, aimed at producing descriptive/prescriptive grammars, dictionaries and orthography;
- language planning for modernisation i.e. designed to enable the language to cope with modern technological advancement (See Chapter One for details of the functions of *TUKI* in Tanzania).

I should perhaps remind the reader here that in Tanzania the status of the language is clearly established in the law although as I shall show, policy is not implemented nor laws adhered to.

The situation in Tanzania is not as unproblematic as suggested above. Tanzania still relies on English as its medium of secondary and post-secondary education. This situation according to Fishman (1974) stems from a modernising pressure to use English, a language of wider communication, in conflict with the use of the national language. He asserts:

Since both modernising and indigenising are part and parcel of most nationalist ideologies underlying language planning, the dialectic between these two opposing forces is often felt in language planning per se in the reactions to its various groups in the speech-and-writing communities (p.16).

To sum up the above situation of the first phase of the LPP evolution in Tanzania we note the following scenarios. First, the phase was characterised by the adoption of Kiswahili as the language used in the struggle for *Uhuru* (independence) during the pre-independence struggle and second it was adopted as the national/official language of the post-independent Tanzania. In the post-independent state, the situation can be described as follows: 1961 – 1966: the pre-Arusha period. English and Kiswahili co-exist. Kiswahili is ideologically constructed as the language of African nationalism and pride. This was followed by the period of heyday of the Kiswahilization: 1967 – 1975. English and Kiswahili became more and more antagonistic. It was therefore the period of “struggle for Kiswahili” against English (Blommaert, 1997:37)

Let me now turn to the second stage in the evolution of the LPP as described by Ricento (op.cit). This is the period between 1970 to 1985, which ‘saw a continuation of the themes current in the first phase’. However, the period is also characterised by the realisation that modernisation had failed because the ‘newly independent states found themselves in some ways more dependent on their former colonial masters than they had been during the colonial era’ (Ricento op.cit: 5). The second phase of the LPP evolution also reflects that neo-colonialism was very much at work (cf. Phillipson, 1992; Said, 1993; Pennycook, 1995). During this period Sociolinguistics focussed very closely on language as shared meaning. As Ricento (op.cit) puts it, ‘the focus was on social, economic and political effects of language contact’ but most of all ‘linguistic behaviour was social behaviour, motivated and influenced by attitudes and

beliefs of speakers and speech communities, *as well as* by macro economic and political forces' (p.6).

In the case of Tanzania, thus, this period was called the period of confusion (Blommaert, 1997a). Politics and linguistics took a divergent course because the earlier expectation that Kiswahili would be adopted in every aspect of the society was not being realised as fast as hoped. For example, political decisions effectively prevented the recommendations of the Makwetta Commission in 1984 from being implemented. The government's decision to maintain English as a medium of higher education brings to an end the prospects of Kiswahilization (by rejecting the recommendations of Makwetta Commission (Blommaert op.cit: 37) (see Chapter One). Hence it was the period of decline in the Kiswahilization struggle. On the other hand, in Tanzania this period was also characterised by the peak of linguistic purism. *TUKI* published its first *Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu* (Standard Kiswahili Dictionary).

The third phase of LPP evolution according to Ricento (op.cit) is from the late 1980s onwards. This is characterised by the new economic world order, end of the cold war and international migration, post-modern theories and linguistic human rights. Major events during this time were population migration, the re-emergence of the national ethnic identities and languages, which coincided with the break up of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, along with countervailing movements to forge new regional coalitions such as the EU in which local and regional languages must compete with supranational languages (mostly English and French) (Wright, 2000a). In Africa similar regional coalitions have also taken place e.g. the re-emergence of the East African Community (EAC), (which collapsed in 1977)⁴⁹, ECOWAS in West Africa and Southern African Development Community (SADC). In the case of African regional grouping, the local languages such as Kiswahili seem to have been completely over shadowed by the use of English and/or French in different forums.

⁴⁹ The EAC collapsed in 1977 partly because Tanzania was at that time pursuing Ujamaa (socialist) policy while in Kenya it was more of capitalist policy and partly because of the military rule in Uganda.

Ricento further points out that the third phase in the LPP evolution is characterised by 'forces associated with the globalisation of capitalism such as domination of media by a handful of multinationals' (p.7) (cf. Said, 1993).

In Tanzania, this was the period of the second presidency (of Alhaj Ali Hassan Mwinyi) (*Serkali ya Awamu ya Pili*) (1985 – 1995) (after Nyerere) the period of relaxation (*Ruksa*)⁵⁰. It was the period of economic liberalisation and abolition of the one party state⁵¹. Thus the abolition of the one-party state in Tanzania also meant abolition of the old opposition schemes of English versus Kiswahili. This may therefore prove to be a period in which new socio-linguistic pattern emerges in Tanzania. Blommaert (1997a) summarises the present Tanzania situation as follows:

From 1982 onwards, the situation is virtually identical to the one that prevailed before 1967. The ideological symbolisation of Kiswahili and English has weakened considerably, especially after 1986. English has regained its pre-1967 prestige, while Kiswahili has attained an unprecedented level of spread and importance in use (p.37).

Interestingly, in the case of Tanzania this is the period when the *1997 Cultural Policy* was formulated. The *Policy* suggests a shift in the medium of the education system in Tanzania from English to Kiswahili by the year 2010 although its recommendations are mild. At the same time this is the period which has seen the mushrooming of private English language provision.

The present thesis sets out to investigate these contrasting phenomena and to see how far Tanzania will be able to implement its language policies successfully. It is clear that a policy must be followed by a clear action plan for successful implementation. However, the history of LPP has cast doubt on the ability of a national government to go against overwhelming social and political trends.

⁵⁰ Ever since President Mwinyi came to power he has been referred to as *Mzee Ruksa* (one who allows any request from his subjects, e.g. relaxation of importing 'luxury' commodities from abroad by private entrepreneurs- something which was previously done by the state organs).

⁵¹ Multipartism in Tanzania began in earnest in the early 1990s and the first multi-party election was held in 1995.

Planning a language for national cohesion in the period of high nationalism may have been an easier endeavour than similar planning in a period of aggressive globalisation (although sometimes globalisation can be helpful i.e. it encourages economic regionalism).

2.9 LPP in post-colonial era globally

The issue of LPP is not unique to Tanzania. Most former colonies and particularly developing countries face the same situation. For example, Khubchandani (1977) presents a similar situation in India. According to him, in India, the choice of language for formal communication follows two different trends. He describes the situation as follows:

On the one side, local government agencies are keen to discard the use of colonial – dominating English and switch hastily over to their respective regional languages under democratic pressure. On the other hand, many agencies of trade and technology in the private sector, which compete among themselves in spear-heading the modernisation process, still judge achievement orientation and merit-consideration of an individual on the basis of English, as they feel that by giving up the international media altogether their economic targets will be affected altogether (p.39).

Where regional economic groupings are involved, the choice of English as ‘official language’ is ever imminent and in some cases English is promoted (e.g. in the ASEAN countries where English Language Centre was established in Singapore to strengthen the teaching of English in the respective member countries).

On the other hand, in extreme situations some groups always refused to accept their incorporation into a ‘nation’ state. In Europe, autochthonous ‘minorities’ such as the Basques, the Catalans, the Welsh, the Padanians linguistic have won or are fighting for a measure of autonomy or complete independence. In the former USSR and former Yugoslavia, the constituent groups of former unitary states have regained independence. In Asia, Indonesia and Turkey are engaged in fighting groups trying to secede. In Africa, states are constantly engaged in keeping disparate groups together under the umbrella of the nation. In Tanzania there are minorities but no real drive for

group autonomies. 'Allochthonous minorities are normally not so militant since they have chosen to move to the state for political or economic reasons, and in this they contrast with autochthonous minorities who were usually incorporated by invasion, treaty or inheritance and very rarely by their decision' (Wright, 2000a).

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodology used in investigating the implementation of language policy in Tanzania at an institutional level. The chapter describes some important notions about research paradigms, research design and methodology, strategies of inquiry and techniques for data collection.

The study focuses mainly on the implementation of Tanzanian language policy at an institutional level, in one of the institutions, Sokoine University of Agriculture, (SUA). The main reason for this choice is that SUA is one of the main institutions of higher learning in Tanzania where the two languages, Kibwahili and English, can readily be observed to be simultaneously. In principle however, each language has a specific function within specific domains such as teaching in the lecture rooms and in the offices for administrative purposes. At the same time, SUA academics, researchers and administrators are in constant contact with members of wider academic, research and administrative communities and the farming communities within and outside Tanzania. The medium is dictated by the person contacted and is either Kibwahili or English.

There are four main aims central to my investigation. They are as follows: first, to investigate the current situation in language use and practices at SUA. Second, to investigate the awareness of language policy among the University's management, members of academic and administrative staff. Third, to investigate the perception of the problems associated with using English as the medium of education. Fourth, to observe actual practice in a limited number of settings. (The working hypotheses are spelled out in full at the beginning of Chapter Four) In order to carry out the investigation I shall use the network of the communities existing at SUA as the main source of my data. The networks of communities studied are described and represented in the organogram of SUA in fig. 3.1 below.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Purpose of the Chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodology used in investigating the implementation of language policy in Tanzania at an institutional level. The chapter describes some important notions about research paradigms, research design and methodology, strategies of inquiry and techniques for data collection.

The study focuses mainly on the implementation of Tanzanian language policy at an institutional level, in one of the institutions, Sokoine University of Agriculture, (SUA). The main reason for this choice is that SUA is one of the main institutions of higher learning in Tanzania where the two languages, Kiswahili and English, can readily be observed in use simultaneously. In principle however, each language has a specific function within specific domains such as teaching in the lecture rooms and in the offices for administrative purposes. At the same time, SUA academics, researchers and administrators are in constant contact with members of wider academic, research and administrative communities and the farming communities within and outside Tanzania. The medium is dictated by the person contacted and is either Kiswahili or English.

There are four main aims central to my investigation. They are as follows: first, to investigate the current situation in language use and practices at SUA. Second, to investigate the awareness of language policy among the University's management, members of academic and administrative staff. Third, to investigate the perception of the problems associated with using English as the medium of education. Fourth, to observe actual practice in a limited number of settings. (The working hypotheses are spelt out in full at the beginning of Chapter Four) In order to carry out the investigation I shall use the network of the communities existing at SUA as the main source of my data. The networks of communities studied are described and summarised in the organogram of SUA in Fig. 3.1 below.

3.1 Setting of the study

Before explaining the research paradigm adopted and the research techniques used, I shall describe the context in which the investigation is going to take place. The main reason for starting with this description is to show the complexity of the scenario in which SUA operates. It is this complex situation that necessitates the use of the two languages – Kiswahili and English, although one or the other dominates within specific domains. Let me elaborate. There are at least four parties with vested interest in the functioning of SUA. They are, first, the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education (MSTHE), which is the government organ to ensure the implementation of higher education policy in the country. Second, is the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Co-operatives (MALDC)⁵², which formulates and implements agricultural policy in the country on the one hand and on the other hand, absorbs almost all SUA graduates into its offices and training and research institutions all over the country. Third, is the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC)⁵³, responsible for the formulation of language policy in the country. Last but not least, there is the peasant community, which is the key player in implementing agricultural policy in the country⁵⁴ and the beneficiary/end-user of the technologies studied at SUA.

⁵² Note, however, that after the October 2000 General election in Tanzania, MALDC has now been split into three Ministries viz.: Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Ministry of Co-operatives and Marketing and Ministry of Water and Livestock Development. The Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism mainly absorbs graduates from the Faculty of Forestry and Nature Conservation (FFNC).

⁵³ Note also that after the same October 2000 election, some departments in MoEC have now been moved to another Ministry. However, MoEC still retains the Directorate of Culture, which is responsible, among other things, with the National Cultural Policy (which includes language policy) – hence National Kiswahili Council (*BAKITA*) and National Arts Council (*BASATA*) are still under MoEC.

⁵⁴ I use the term peasant here because Tanzania does not have big farmers, but households which produce enough to reproduce and sell any surplus which fortunately, contributes towards the national grain basket (though to a very limited level). Peasants are also important because they make up to 85% of the total population and live in the rural areas. Each ethnic group uses its own vernacular but for official business Kiswahili is used e.g. at the market place, at the primary school, at a health centre and at a village meeting. As stated elsewhere, it is important to stress here that about 93% of Tanzanians are fluent in Kiswahili as their L2 (*Ethnologue, Area, Tanzania, 2000*).

SUA was established by an Act of Parliament (*Act 4 of 1984*). Its mission is four-fold: to teach, to conduct research, to provide outreach services to the farmers and to give consultancy to agro-based firms and institutions in the country. Currently there are four faculties viz.: Faculty of Agriculture (FoA), Faculty Forestry and Nature Conservation (FFNC), Faculty of Science (FoS) and Faculty of Veterinary Medicine (VM). In addition to the four faculties, there is one directorate – the Directorate of Research and Postgraduate studies (RPGS), two institutes – the Institute of Continuing Education (ICE) and Development Studies Institute (DSI), the Sokoine National Agricultural Library, and Sokoine University of Agriculture Sustainable Rural Development (SUASURUDE). SUA offers undergraduate and post courses leading to first degree up to PhD respectively in agriculture, forestry and veterinary sciences.

The mission of SUA is closely linked to the agricultural policy in the country and reflects the activities of MALDC, which is the key player in implementing agricultural policy in the country. The mission of the University as stated in the Charter, is to provide higher agricultural education, research and dissemination of knowledge in the field of agriculture, animal science, fisheries and natural resources management. Its vision in the new *“Corporate Strategic Plan to the year 2005 and beyond”* which was approved by the University Council goes a bit further in its ambitions than the past mission, that is

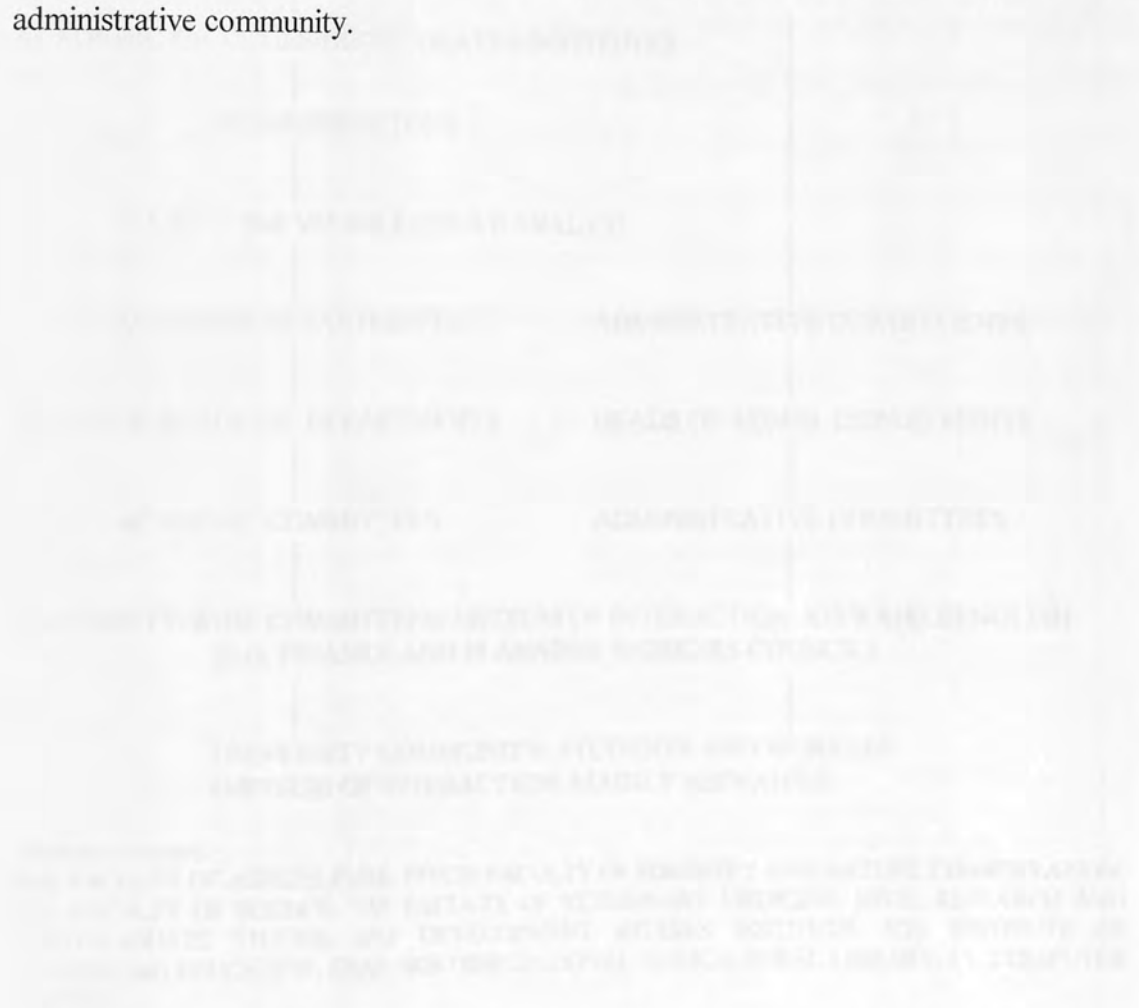
To be a centre of academic excellence in agricultural and related fields with emphasis on imparting skills, entrepreneurship, research integration of basic and applied knowledge in environmentally friendly manner for the benefit of all people.

(SUA Corporate Strategic Plan, 1997)

Thus, according to the new strategic plan, the central focus is to make SUA more attuned to the needs of the Tanzanian society as expressed through the national policies, but also needs expressed by user groups (small holders, the emerging large-

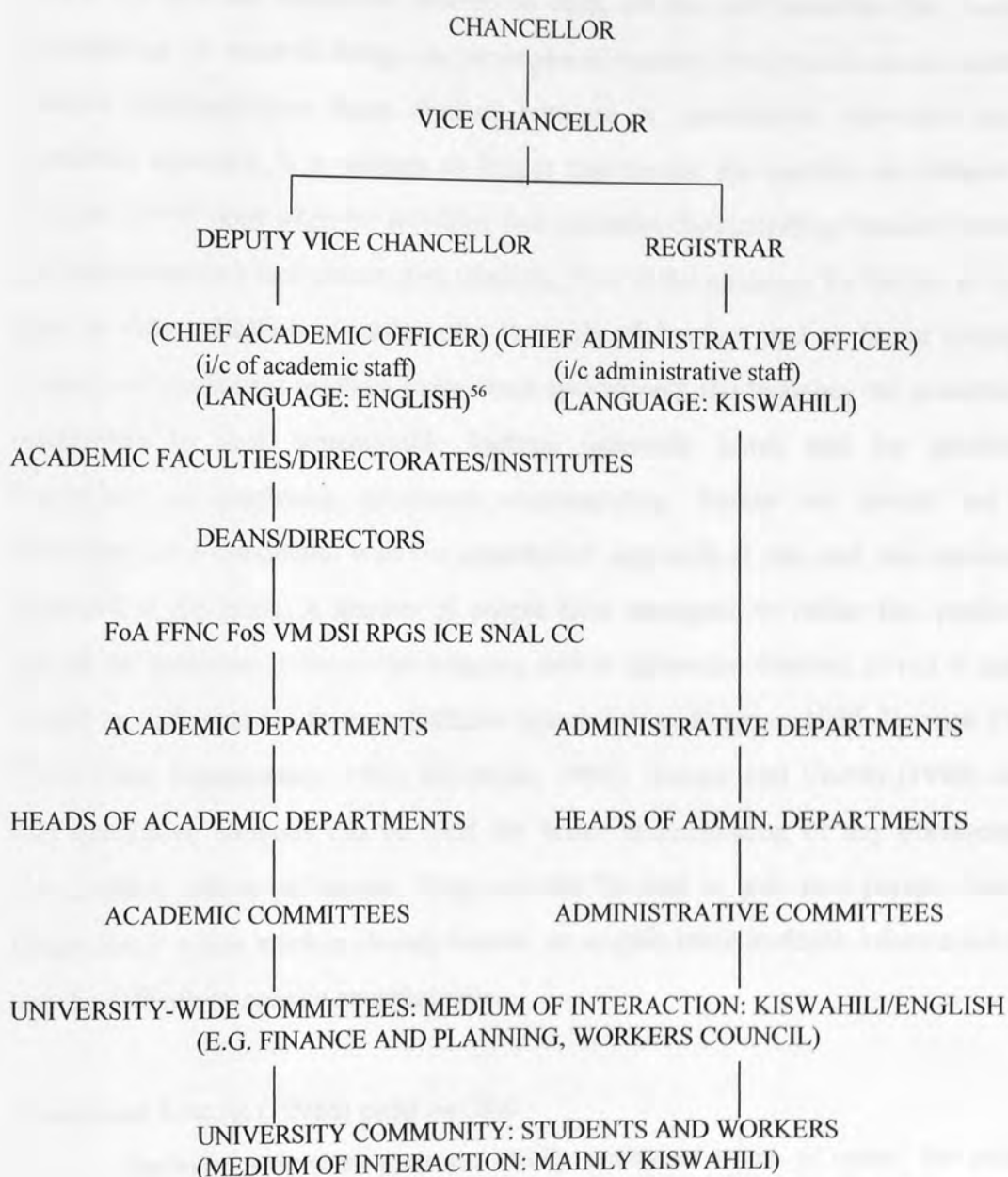
scale farmers⁵⁵ and agro-industry (*cf* the goals of *Vision 2025* in **Chapter One**). The major task of SUA therefore is to prepare students to enter the world of work of MALDC to implement agricultural policy in the country. As pointed out earlier, SUA on the other hand falls under the MSTHE. In addition to the aims pointed out earlier in 3.0 above, another aim will be to investigate what goes on outside SUA when its researchers, academics, students, and extension workers conduct their research and outreach activities, but where the official language of interaction is mainly Kiswahili.

I now present an organogram of SUA to show how communication flows from the top management down to the SUA community i.e. the academic community and the administrative community.



⁵⁵ For example most of the former state-owned farms and plantation have been privatised after Tanzania abandoned its socialist goals stated in the Arusha Declaration. Some of these private farms employ some graduates of SUA as managers-cum-researchers.

Fig. 3.1: Organogram of SUA to show speech communities and their respective language of interaction.



ABBREVIATIONS:

FoA: FACULTY OF AGRICULTURE, FFNC: FACULTY OF FORESTRY AND NATURE CONSERVATION, FoS: FACULTY OF SCIENCE, VM: FACULTY OF VETERINARY MEDICINE, RPGS: RESEARCH AND POSTGRADUATE STUDIES, DSI: DEVELOPMENT STUDIES INSTITUTE, ICE: INSTITUTE OF CONTINUING EDUCATION, SNAL: SOKOINE NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL LIBRARY, CC COMPUTER CENTRE

⁵⁶ However, in practice as the study will show later, Kiswahili is the main language of communication especially in face-to-face interaction in and outside the offices. English is used only in the lecture room and in written communication members of academic staff (and sometimes-administrative staff) write to the University administration on academic matters.

3.2 Research Methodology.

Having described the physical set up of the institution where the study will mainly be carried out and the respective sources of data, let me now describe the research methodology i.e. research design and strategies of inquiry. Traditions in social sciences research methodologies have divided between a quantitative approach and a qualitative approach. It is perhaps no longer true to cast the tradition as either/or as Bryman (1999) does when he identifies two common distinguishing features between qualitative research and quantitative research. First is the tendency for theory to come prior to data collection in quantitative research (deductive) and to be an emergent property of qualitative research (inductive); and second, the tendency for quantitative researchers to seek generalisable findings (scientific laws) and for qualitative researchers to emphasise contextual understanding. Rather we should see the dichotomy as a continuum with the quantitative approach at one end and qualitative approach at the other. A number of people have attempted to define the qualitative end of the spectrum in the social sciences, and to determine whether or not it can or should be differentiated from quantitative research (e.g. Burgess, 1984; Bryman 1988; Finch 1986, Hammersley, 1992; Silverman, 1993). Strauss and Corbin (1990) claim that qualitative methods can be used for better understanding of any phenomenon about which little is yet known. They can also be used to gain new perspectives on things about which much is already known, or to gain more in-depth information that may be difficult to convey quantitatively.

Denzin and Lincoln (1998a) point out that

Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraint that shape the inquiry. They further point out that, in contrast, quantitative studies emphasise the measurement and analysis of causal relationship between variables, not processes (p.8).

This study will employ qualitative research methodology. I would first of all therefore, like to present the writers on qualitative research methodology who have shaped my understanding.

Denzin and Lincoln (1998a) offer a generic definition of qualitative research as one, which is

Multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. It involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials – case studies, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts – that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives (p.3).

Strauss and Corbin (1990) define the term qualitative research as:

Any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or means of quantification. (That is, as opposed to quantitative research, which applies mathematical analytic procedure that results in findings from data gathered by a variety of means). They further point out that it can refer to research about persons' lives, stories, behaviour, but also about organisational functioning, social movements, or interactional relationships (p.17).

Mason (1996:4) points out that qualitative research is:

- Grounded in a philosophical position, which is broadly 'interpretivist' in the sense that it is concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood and experienced or produced.
- Based on methods of data generation, which are flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data is produced (rather than rigidly standardised or structured, or removed from 'real life' or 'natural' social context, as in some forms or experimental method).
- Based on methods of analysis and explanation building, which involve understandings of complexity, detail and context. Qualitative research aims to produce grounded understanding on the basis of rich, contextual, and detailed data.

Bryman and Burgess (1999a) argue that:

Most definitions of qualitative research draw attention to certain features of approach and these can be taken to draw attention to core characteristics (p.x).

These characteristics suggest that:

Qualitative research is a strategy of social research which deploys several methods (often in conjunction in specific studies) and displays preference for: the interpretation of social phenomena from the point of view of the meanings employed by people being studied; the deployment of natural rather than artificial settings for the collection of data; and generating rather than testing theory (p.x).

Patton (1990) echoes this fact by pointing out that these are not:

Absolute characteristics of qualitative inquiry, but rather strategic ideals that provide a direction and a framework for developing specific designs and concrete data collection tactics (p.59).

These characteristics are considered to be interconnected (Patton, 1990:40) and mutually reinforcing (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:39). Thus, on the basis of these characteristics, Denzin and Lincoln (1998a) point out that qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of interconnected methods (*cf* Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Likewise, Eisner (1991) points out that

Qualitative studies typically employ multiple forms of evidence...[and] there is no statistical test of significance to determine if the results 'count' (p.39).

Having drawn the distinction between qualitative and quantitative research and offered some definitions of qualitative research, let us now see how qualitative research should be conducted. Mason (1996) argues that, among other things, qualitative research should be systematically and rigorously conducted (as opposed to an *ad hoc* approach or a rigid or structured approach). It should be strategically conducted, yet flexible and contextual (i.e. it should make a decision on the basis not only of a sound research strategy, but also of a sensitivity to the changing contexts and situations in which the research takes place). It should produce social

explanations to intellectual puzzles which are also generalisable in some way or which have a wider resonance (Mason, 1996:5-6).

To sum up the above, Robson and Foster (1989) point out that qualitative research is best used for problems requiring insight and understanding. This is further shown by Nelson and Grosberg (1989) who argue that all these research practices (in qualitative research)

Can provide important insights and knowledge (p.2).

Since the present research is concerned with the interplay of **policy**, **attitude** and **behaviour** it became clear early in the research process that the approach should be qualitative.

3.3 Qualitative Research Strategies.

I would like now to move to qualitative research strategies. Denzin and Lincoln (1998a) point out that four basic questions structure the issue of design: (a) How will the design connect to the paradigm being used? That is, how will empirical materials be informed by and interact with the paradigm in question? (b) Who or what will be studied? (c) What strategies of inquiry will be used? (d) What methods or research tools will be used for collecting and analysing empirical materials? (p. xii). I shall now illustrate how my research responded to these basic questions.

With regard to the paradigms being used, Denzin and Lincoln (op.cit) list the following: positivist/postpositivist, constructionist, feminist, ethic, Marxist and cultural studies. These paradigms dictate, with varying degrees of freedom, the design of a qualitative research investigation. They further point out that this can be looked at as a continuum, with rigorous design principles on one end and emergent, less well-structured directives on the other. Thus,

Positivist research designs place a premium on the early identification and development of a research question and a set of hypotheses, choice of site and establishment of sampling strategies, as well as specification of the research strategies and methods of analysis that will be employed (p.xii).

In contrast to the positivist paradigm, Denzin and Lincoln point out that:

Much greater ambiguity is associated with postpositivist and nonpositivist designs – those based, for example, on the constructivist or critical theory paradigm, or the ethnic, feminist, or cultural studies perspectives (p.xii).

In many ways, this research started as a hypothesis to be proven or disproved which I felt thus tended towards the positivist end of the continuum. I had become aware of profound educational difficulties derived from ever changing, sometimes inappropriate, language policies and inconsistent language use within the classroom and wished to demonstrate that dysfunctionality. However, during the research it became clear that the issue was immensely more complex than at first thought and affected by influences which I had not considered at the outset e.g. the increasing impact of globalisation and the heightened need for English which resulted. These

meant that I rethought my research design and techniques as the research progressed and have ended up with a basic case study with some ideas imported from other traditions in the interpretivist tradition.

With regard to “who” and “what” will be studied, Denzin and Lincoln (op.cit.) argue that qualitative studies involve cases, or instances of phenomena and/or social process (p.xiii). They further point out that three generic approaches may be taken to the question of “who” or “what” will be studied. These are first: a single case, or single process where the researcher examines in detail a single case or instance of the phenomenon. In the second approach, the researcher focuses on a number of cases, i.e. collective case approach. These cases are then analysed in terms of their specific and generic properties. In the third approach, the researcher examines multiple instances of a process as that process is displayed in a variety of different cases (p.xiii).

In this study, the first approach will be used i.e. examining in detail a single case or single process. The study will therefore examine in detail the implementation of language policy in Tanzania at an institutional level, i.e. at Sokoine University of Agriculture.

The study will also use any available documents regarding implementation of language policy from different sources within the University. As shown, SUA operates in a complex framework and the wider society has a major influence on the internal working of the institution. This therefore necessitates getting a sample of respondents and/or relevant documents from outside SUA as well. The sample from outside SUA includes the Commissioner of Education, MoEC, Commissioner of Culture, MoEC, Director Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE), Director *TUKI*, Chairman *BAKITA*, Head of Department, Foreign Languages and Linguistics, UDSM, a sample of peasants from two villages where SUA researchers have on-farm research activities, a

sample of Head Teachers from English-medium primary schools and a sample of parents who have children in these schools⁵⁷.

The above purposive approach is in line with the arguments put forward by Denzin and Lincoln (op.cit.) who state that:

Every instance of a case or process bears the stamp of the general class of phenomena it belongs to. However, any given instance is likely to be particular and unique...For these reasons, many positivist, constructionist, and critical theory qualitative researchers employ theoretical or purposive, and not random, sampling models. They seek out groups, settings, and individuals where (and for whom) the processes being studied are most likely to occur (p.xiv).

LeCompre *et al* (1993) point out that:

Research design involves a clear focus on research question, the purpose of the study, what information most appropriately will answer specific research questions, and which strategies are most effective for obtaining it (p.30).

Qualitative research employs purposive sampling as its dominant strategy (as opposed to probability sampling in quantitative inquiry). According to Patton (1990) purposive sampling seeks information-rich cases which can be studied in depth.

Denzin and Lincoln (1998a) sum this up by stating that 'to study the particular is to study the general' (p.xiv). Thus from analysis and conclusions arrived at from the responses of the respondents identified as source data for my study, I should be able to generalise the implications for language policy implementation in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

I now turn to the strategies of inquiry.

My strategy in this research was to interview at several sectors and levels within the institution studied: management, academic personnel and administration. This provided me with data that could be checked to see if there was corroboration. I could

⁵⁷ This sample has been included because of the mushrooming and euphoria attached to the mainly urban-based English-medium kindergarten/primary schools (*academies*). These schools are very

gauge whether members of the institution were all aware of policy, were in agreement on attitudes and, whether behaviour was consistent. In some research traditions this checking approach has been termed triangulation (Open University, 1993).

According to Denzin and Lincoln (1998b) strategy of inquiry comprises of skills, assumptions, practices used by the researcher-as-bricoleur when moving from a paradigm and a research design to the collection of materials (p.xiv). Strategies of inquiry therefore connect researchers to specific approaches and methods for collecting and analysing empirical materials. According to Denzin and Lincoln, the main strategies are as follows: the case study, ethnography and participant observation, phenomenology, ethnomethodology and interpretive practice, grounded theory, biographical method, historical method, applied and action research and clinical methods (p.24). Most of these are not relevant to this study. My research strategy was principally the case study. However, elements of the approaches typical of some of the other strategies were sometimes useful and were, therefore, adopted. The research methods of participant observation, grounded theory and historical method all provided useful points for reflection, and how they were used is elaborated below.

Yin (1984) states that the case study is

an empirical enquiry that: - investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context (23).

Denzin and Lincoln (1998a) show how wide researchers trawl in order to build up a case study:

Case researchers routinely provide information on such topics as nature of the case, its historical background, and its relation to contexts and other cases as well as their informants (p.xvi).

Within this context, the researcher may focus on one individual or on a process or a population. In the present case study I focus on a population in a single institution and

expensive and serve only the rich and elite class in the country and are an example of the

on the process which is taking place. I provide full information on the historical background and broaden my enquiry to the wider society outside the university chosen as the subject of the case study.

Stake (1998) argues that the case study is not a methodological choice, but a choice of object to be studied (p.86). The key question when choosing the subject for this research was whether it was adequate for generalisations to be made about Tanzanian education in general. The question of whether the particular can stand for the whole is a key issue (Platt 1988). So can Sokoine claim representativeness? I believe a case can be made for this case study to be used legitimately to reach a generalisation about the level of knowledge of language policy, the attitudes towards these policies and actual behaviour among the educational establishment in Tanzania. I base this on the fact that there are only two main public universities⁵⁸ in Tanzania and there is much contact between them. Members of staff from the two main Universities participate in each other's committees. The institutions are closely related, and have been since SUA's beginnings as a daughter university to University of Dar-es-Salaam (UDSM). Members of staff at SUA are also aware of much of what is happening at secondary level in the country. They know the secondary sector because they need to liaise with secondary sector staff to admit students and provide coherent progression from secondary to higher education. Many of the staff at all levels of the hierarchy have been secondary school teachers themselves at points in their career. Of course many of them are also parents who have insights through their children's experience.

However, as many of the writers on methodology point out, generalisation is a tricky subject and the issue needs to be under review at all points of the research. Campbell (1975) argues that case studies can be usefully seen as a small step towards generalisation. This is what I expected would come from my case study. I felt that SUA could stand for higher education in Tanzania and would provide insights into

accommodation and repositioning mentioned in 3.3.1.

⁵⁸ Open University of Tanzania (OUT) which was established recently caters mainly for working adults.

secondary education. I recognised, however, the care that would need to be taken when generalising.

There are several types of case study approaches such as intrinsic, instrumental and collective. Each has its own uses, varieties and problems. According to Stake (1998.), intrinsic case study is undertaken because one wants better understanding of a particular case. With regard to instrumental case study, he argues that a particular case is examined to provide insight into an issue or refinement of a theory. And with regard to collective case studies, he argues that the researcher should study a number of cases jointly in order to inquire into the phenomenon, population, or general condition (p. 88 – 89). My work falls most probably under the instrumental category since I hoped that SUA would help elucidate the difficulties of the situation in education that derived from vacillating language policy, implemented inconsistently. In other words I was using the case study to provide insight into an issue.

A further point to be made about case studies is that they allow subjects to contribute their 'subjective meanings' (Platt 1988).

I kept strictly to this approach and the findings reveal the opinions and attitudes of my respondents reported in their own words. These are then used either to demonstrate a point directly or to provide a basis for inference (Platt 1988).

Yin's point that

Case studies allow an investigation to retain a holistic approach and (the) meaningful characteristics of real-life events (Yin 1989:14)

encapsulates why I felt the case study to be my necessary method if I were to advance the research. I could bring contextual knowledge to bear, I could investigate the problem from many angles and I could engage respondents in a consideration of a problem that is affecting everyone in Tanzania.

Ethnography uses a methodology which generates data through the researcher immersing herself or himself in a research setting, and systematically observing dimensions of that setting, interactions, relationships, actions, events and so on within it (Mason, 1996). Atkinson and Hammersley (1998) argue that, ethnographic methods are characterised by the collection of relatively unstructured empirical materials, a small number of cases, and a writing and style analysis that are primarily interpretive, involving descriptions of phenomena. According to Atkinson and Hammersley (op.cit.) ethnography usually refers to the forms of social research having a substantial number of the following features:

- A strong emphasis on exploring the nature of a particular social phenomenon, rather than setting out to test hypotheses about them
- A tendency to work primarily with “unstructured” data, that is, data that have not been coded at the point of data collection in terms of a closed set of analytic categories
- Investigation of a small number of cases, perhaps just one case, in detail
- Analysis of data that involves explicit interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions, the product of which mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing a subordinate role at most

(Atkinson and Hammersley op.cit: 110 –111)

This does not reflect how I worked as my data was structured through the use of questionnaires. However, I adopted some of the strategies as the research progressed and I widened my trawl to collect data outside my initial framework. This led me to review my hypotheses and to open new lines of research involving the collection of unstructured data.

The second strategy from which I borrowed was participant observation which is a mode of being-in-the-world. According to Atkinson and Hammersley, (op.cit.). participant observation runs several dimensions of variation such as the following:

- Whether the researcher is known to be a researcher by all those being studied, or only by some, or by none;
- How much, and what, is known about the research by whom;

- What sort of activities are and are not engaged by the researcher in the field, and how this locates her or him in relation to the various conceptions of category and group membership used by the participants;
- What the orientation of the researcher is, how completely he or she consciously adopts the orientation of insider or outsider;

(Atkinson and Hammersley, op.cit: 111)

The above is succinctly summed up by Adler and Adler (1998) who point out that participant observation interactionist researchers usually want to gather data from their subjects while interacting with them (p.82). In the classic definition, the participant observer is an outsider who comes into the situation. I do not fit this description, as I am an insider who has come outside to do this research. In this sense it is difficult for me to approach the subject with the same detachment as the traditional participant observer. In addition to the formal interviewing and taped observation, I was a member of the University who knows a great deal more than the information I gathered systematically and who had commitment and opinion on the subject. In this respect therefore, I cannot situate myself strictly on Atkinson and Hammersley's scale. I was also not allowed to participate in the discussion in meetings— hence in this sense I was more of an observer than a participant observer.

The third strategy, which contributed to my research approach, was grounded theory, which, according to Strauss and Corbin (1990), is a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon. The purpose of grounded theory method is to build theory that is faithful to and illuminates the area under study (p.24). The data are systematically gathered and examined rigorously. The strategy gives the researcher specific sets of steps to follow, that are closely aligned with the cannon of "good science". Strauss and Corbin (1998) argue that grounded theory evolves during actual research, and it does this through continuous interplay between analysis and data collection (p.158). That is, the theory arises from and is formed by the data. Further collection of data allows the researcher to gauge whether the early theoretical interpretation was

accurate. This is contrary to positivist research where a paradigm is adopted at the onset. Here the research process is circular and theories and hypotheses are amended in the light of findings. Despite the somewhat positivist stance at the beginning of the research, the present research can also be seen as moving closer to grounded theory as there was a clear interplay between analysis and further data collection as I began to understand the situation in its complexity.

The fourth strategy I employed is historical method, which involves the use of historical documents and written records of the past, including diaries, letters, newspapers, census tract data, novels and other popular literature, and popular cultural documents (Tuchman 1998). This strategy was used in assembling policy documents, situating them within the political process and evaluating the consistence of the political process.

Having described some of the strategies in qualitative research it is clear that this research started in the positivist research paradigm then imported strategies from other traditions. It used a wide range of interconnected methods such as elements of case study, elements of ethnography, participant observation, triangulation, grounded theory and historical method for context.

Let me now turn to qualitative research methods and research tools.

3.4 Research methods/Research tools

Research method refers to data generation techniques and procedures, the selection of data sources, and sampling (Mason 1996). There are two prevailing forms of data collection associated with qualitative inquiry. They are interviews and observations. These methods according to Denzin and Lincoln (1998b), range from interview to direct observation, to the analysis of artefacts, documents and cultural materials, to the use of visual materials and personal experience (p.29). As far as interviews and observations are concerned, Mason (op.cit.) argues that we may see people as data

sources in the sense that they are repositories of knowledge, evidence, experience or whatever is relevant to the research (p.35). People as source of data, therefore, provide experiences, accounts, interpretations, memories, opinions, understandings, thoughts, ideas, emotions, feelings, perception, morals, behaviour, practices, actions, activities, conversations, interactions, products, and relationships. This source of data may be provided from interviews or observations or may come from other sources such as writing, texts, narratives and stories, art and cultural products, visual images including diagrams, photographs and maps, publications, media products, documents and archives, laws, statutes, rules and regulations, policies, etc (Mason 1996:37). The list is not exhaustive, however.

So there is a wide range of methods through which one might contemplate generating data from people: for example, by observing them, by talking to them, by collecting products they have generated such as memos, letters, reports and planning documents. Mason (op.cit: 36) further suggests that method in qualitative research implies more than a practical technical or procedure for gaining data but also implies a data generation process involving activities, which are intellectual, analytical, and interpretive. I shall now describe what is involved in interviews and observation.

Holstein and Gubrium (1995) argue that the image of social scientific prospector casts the interview as a search-and-discovery mission, with the interviewer bent on finding what is already there. The challenge lies in extracting information as directly as possible. Thus, as Denzin and Lincoln (1998b) put it, the interview is the favourite methodological tool of the qualitative researcher. They further point out that the interview is a conversation; the art of asking questions and listening.

The interview produces situated understandings grounded in specific interactional episodes (p.36).

‘Qualitative interviewing’ is usually intended to refer to in-depth interviewing i.e. ‘conversation with a purpose’ (Kahn and Cannell, 1957: 149; Burgess, 1984).

Marshall and Rossman (1995) argue this fact further by pointing out that qualitative in-depth interviews are much more like conversations than formal events with predetermined response and categories (p.80).

Rubin and Rubin (1995) argue that *qualitative interviewers* listen to people as they describe the worlds, in which they live and work. ... 'People who live or work together or have similar racial, ethnic, or religious background develop shared understandings that are communicated to others in their group and constitute their culture'. In this study, there is a dominant culture as most of the people involved 'live and work in the world of SUA'.

Mason (1996: 38 - 39) argues that qualitative interviews are characterised by the following:

- A relatively informal style, for example with the appearance of a conversation or discussion rather than formal question and answer format;
- A thematic, topic-centred, biographical or narrative approach, for example where the researcher does not have a structured questions, but does usually have a range of topics, themes or issues which s/he wishes to cover;
- The assumption that data are generated via the interaction, because either the interviewee(s), or the interaction itself, are the data sources. Qualitative interviews may involve one to one interaction or larger groups.

From the above description therefore we note that qualitative research mainly utilises unstructured and open-ended (Fontana and Frey, 1998) or informal conversational interviews, semi-structured interviews and standardised open-ended interviews (Patton, 1990: 280 - 290). Unstructured interviewing, i.e. the open-ended interviewing provides a greater breadth than structured or semi-structured. The data from this kind of interviewing gives an in-depth understanding of the problem under investigation. This is because open-ended interviewing is used in an attempt to understand the complex behaviour of the interviewees without imposing any a priori categorisation which that may limit the field of inquiry (Fontana and Frey op.cit: 56).

I shall now offer an accurate description of my approach to be used in analysing the data. Rubin and Rubin (1995) argue that data analysis begins while interviewing is still underway. They point out that

After completing each interview and again after finishing a larger group of interviews, you examine the data you have heard, pull out the concepts and themes that describe the world of the interviewees, and decide which areas should be examined in details (p.226)

This is the approach I eventually took which of course meant I had to jettison my earlier more positivist approach.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) point out that analysis begins by identification of the themes emerging from the raw data. The idea here is to identify and tentatively name conceptual categories into which the phenomena observed would be grouped. The aim is to create descriptive, multi-dimensional categories, which form a preliminary framework for analysis. Words, phrases or events that appear to be similar can be grouped in the same category. Most of the analyses of my study closely fit this latter description.

The above description of data analysis brings me to its definition. Bogdan and Bilken (1982) define data analysis as

Working with data, organising it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesising it, searching for patterns, and discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others (p.145)

Patton (1990) points out that qualitative researchers tend to use inductive analysis of the data, i.e. the critical themes emerge out of the data. He therefore argues that qualitative analysis requires some creativity, for the challenge is to organise the raw data into logical, meaningful categories; to examine in holistic fashion; and to find a way to communicate this interpretation to others.

The above approaches in data analysis will be the basis for data analysis in **Chapter Five**.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) say that the task of the researcher is to re-examine the categories identified to determine how they are linked and assemble them to give the "big picture". The purpose here is to describe and acquire new understanding of the phenomenon of interest. Furthermore, causal events contributing to the phenomenon, descriptive details of the phenomenon itself and the ramifications of the phenomenon under study are identified and explored. In so doing, 'the researcher's report will be a enriched, tightly woven account that closely approximates the reality it represents' (Strauss and Corbin 1990:57).

In this study, face-to-face interviews were open-ended but I set the agenda of questions at the outset. I then moved to a less structured format to allow a deeper probe into the issue, with supplementary conversations which developed the subject (*cf.* Wilson 1996).

Let me now turn to observational techniques.

Observational technique is a form of data collection in naturalistic or field research whereby participants are observed in the context of a natural scene. Foster (1996) argues that in everyday life we use observation to gain information or knowledge so that we can act in the world. Observation informs and enables us to test our common-sense theories about the social world (p.57). In qualitative research, these observations go further because the knowledge gained from observation may be used to influence the behaviour of those who access it. Wilson (1996) points out that structured observation methods require systematic observation of behaviour, but without direct questioning of the people observed (94). Patton (1990) argues that observation can lead to deeper understandings than interviews alone, because it provides a knowledge of the context in which events occur, and may enable the researcher to see things that participants themselves are not aware of, or that they are unwilling to discuss. There are several observation strategies. The main ones are as follows: an observation

strategy whereby the researcher watches from outside, without being observed. A second strategy is the one whereby the researcher maintains a passive presence, being as unobtrusive and not interacting with the participants. A third strategy is to engage in limited interaction, intervening only when further clarification of action is needed. Finally, is the strategy whereby the researcher may act as a full participant in the situation, with either hidden or known identity. It is also important to point out here that interview is also a form of observation whereby the researcher exercises more active control over the observation to elicit the specific type of information. Thus we may explain observation as a method of generating data which involves the researcher immersing herself/himself in a research setting, and systematically observing dimensions that setting, interaction, relationships, actions, events and so on, within it. (See also Mason, 1996; 1984; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Jorgensen, 1989; Marshall and Rossman, 1995). Adler and Adler (1998) aptly summarise that:

Observers take roles that range anywhere from the hidden or disguised voyeur, who watches from outside or with a passive (even electronic) presence, to the active participant, involved in the setting, who acts as a member and not as a researcher so as not to alter the flow of the interaction unnaturally (p.85 – 86).

In this study, observation was used mainly in observing language use of teachers in the classroom and during meetings of university committees. In the case of classroom observation, I videotaped some lecturers from FFNC (media products). In both cases (i.e. in the classroom and in meetings) the aim was to find out which language was in use, whether government policy was being observed and the consequences of this for educational success. The observation was sometimes covertly and sometimes overtly done i.e. as a member of the University I was not always recognised as an outside researcher's presence. And even when my presence as researcher was acknowledged in the meetings and in the classroom, the participants were not always aware of my aim.

Another source of information that can be used in qualitative research is analysis of documents. In this study, these documents include policy documents, official records, letters, newspaper accounts, diaries and reports (*cf* Hansen, 1995; Hoepfl, 1994;

Gagel, 1997). In addition, Internet Web site text search was used as useful source of information (*cf* Richardson and Richards, 1998). These documents were most useful to supplement/support data gained through interviews or to explain the wider political context in which my research was carried out.

In addition, this study made observation on *language use* of SUA terrestrial television (SUA TV⁵⁹) (and other television stations in the country). In the case of the former, the main interest was to see in which language SUA TV beamed its programmes to the farmers. In the latter case, the aim was to observe TV programmes of different TV stations in the country in general in order to establish in which language such programmes are beamed. Thus, general discussions, parliament debates and advertisements were studied. The major aim was to see how general language policy is being implemented Tanzania.

In short therefore, this study utilised both interviewing and observations as strategies for generating the necessary data as well as documents, Internet Web site text searches and TV programmes to illustrate different aspects of the central problem.

In the interviews and the observation, triangulation techniques were used. Triangulation in this meaning refers to the use of different subjects to shed light on the same topic comparing data from different members of the university, as a process of using multiple perception to clarify meaning and verify the repeatability of an observation or interpretation (*cf* Denzin, 1998).

3.5 Problems when collecting data for qualitative research.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) point out some of the difficulties in data collection. In my case these were access to various speech communities involved in the study, the

⁵⁹ SUA TV was established in 1994 with a view of transmitting agricultural education programmes to the peasant community as part of modernising farming systems in Tanzania. However, as pointed elsewhere, only 10% of Tanzania has electricity – mainly in major cities and towns. Furthermore, TV

establishment of relations and the position of researcher as participant observer. Hammersley and Atkinson argue that access is not simply a matter of physical presence or absence of the researcher. It is far more than granting or withholding of permission for research to be conducted (p.55). This is particularly so in formal private settings where boundaries are clearly marked, are not easily penetrated and may be policed by gatekeepers (p.63). The solution to such problems is to make an investigation official. That is, to become part of the environment, part of the system, not a cause of surprise. If in this study, my only credentials for carrying out the investigation had been those of a visiting research student from a British university, there would have been little chance of overcoming these problems. However, I was given privileged access to actors at all levels of the educational hierarchy. These people gave generously of their time. I was formally allowed to carry out research. In addition I had privileged access to meetings.

At SUA there is a code of conduct to carry out research either within or outside the University. Thus in my case the Vice Chancellor wrote formal letters of introduction to take to the prospective heads of institutions where I intended to carry out the study (see **Annex 8**). The DVC wrote a letter, which allowed me to attend meetings of various University committees (see **Annex 9**). The letter however, denied permission for recording of the proceeding of the meetings on tapes. I was therefore able to attend meetings of University committee meetings such as the Undergraduate Studies Committee of the Senate, Faculty Boards, Senate and University Council⁶⁰. And in almost all meetings I attended, the Chairman of the respective committee introduced me to the committee members (although everyone present in the meeting knew that I was a member of academic staff at SUA before leaving for studies – hence to some extent I was a *privileged insider*. In some cases, the chairman briefed members about

sets are very expensive for ordinary peasants (who do not have electricity in the first place). So, whom does the SUA TV really serve?

⁶⁰ However, request to record the proceedings of these meetings was turned down. The VC, in his letter of authorisation to attend the meetings, pointed out that he did not know how I would use the tapes later.

the purpose of my attending such meetings i.e. as part of data collection for my study⁶¹). In some cases he did not.

3.6 Recording Data

Recording of interview data may be carried out in two ways: audio tape/video recording or written notes. Recording of interview data appears to depend largely on personal preference. Patton (1990) argues that a taper recorder is *indispensable* (p.348). Lincoln and Guba (1985) on the other hand, do not recommend recording except for an unusual reason (p.241). They base their recommendation on the intrusiveness of recording devices and possibility of technical failure. Tape recordings have the advantage of capturing data more faithfully than hurriedly written notes might, and can make it easier for the researcher to focus on the interview. In this study written notes and audio recording (but blocked at a certain point- see letter in Annex 8) were used as means of recording the interview and meetings.

3.7 Role of the Researcher in Qualitative Inquiry

In order to achieve success in qualitative research as has been presented and discussed above, a researcher must define his role. Hoepfl (1994) suggests that there are at least three things, which the researcher must do. First, he/she must adopt the stance suggested by the characteristics of the naturalist paradigm. Second, the researcher must develop the level of skill appropriate for a human instrument, or the vehicle, through which data will be collected and interpreted. Finally, the researcher must prepare a research design that utilises accepted strategies for naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) point out that qualitative researcher must be sensitive throughout his qualitative inquiry (what they refer to as theoretical sensitivity). They believe that theoretical sensitivity comes from a number of sources, including literature, professional

⁶¹ Lively discussion with committee members (and other members of academic staff) always ensued after such meetings, especially on the issue of the language problems facing students at SUA. The discussion provided me with deeper insights into the problem of English as the medium of education in Tanzania as perceived by teaching staff at SUA.

experience and personal experience. The credibility of a qualitative research report relies heavily on the confidence readers have in the researcher's ability to be sensitive to the data and make appropriate decisions in the field (Hoepfl, 1994; Eisner, 1991; Patton, 1990).

3.8 Ethical issues

Fontana and Frey (op.cit.) caution that because the objects of inquiry in interviewing are human beings, extreme care must be taken to avoid any harm to them. Thus, sometimes it is necessary to get informed consent of the subjects, right to privacy and to ensure protection from harm (p.70). Thus it was necessary not to hide my purpose. However, neither could I be totally overt. Some discretion was necessary because had my purpose been clear it would have affected the linguistic behaviour of the group who would have acted more self-consciously. For example, if my purpose were made clear when I attended committee meetings, members would have been extra careful in their choice of language (between Kiswahili and English) during the discussion. On the other hand, by being overt, e.g. in face-to-face interview, I was able to get honest responses about the issue I was investigating. It was therefore sometimes necessary to be completely open and sometimes less forthcoming depending on the nature of the investigation. I did not feel this was a serious breach of ethics since my research was not focused on the content of interaction but the medium which has less consequences and implications for the individuals.

In carrying out this investigation, both within and outside SUA, I had to get written permission from the University authority (see **Annexes 8 and 9**). I had to abide by the University's wishes not to tape record proceedings of the University Committee meetings and I had heed to the wishes of the lecturers who were observed during the classroom teaching to remain anonymous.

During committee meetings, which I attended in the course of gathering data, I was introduced to the members of the committee and the purpose of my attendance was

explained. However, it was not mentioned that I was interested in the language use during such meetings.

3.9 Concluding remarks

In the present situation the problems are evident. The subject is politically sensitive. The interview answers reflect on the interviewee. The observed educational practices may reveal a discrepancy between recommended and actual practice.

With this theoretical background in qualitative research methodology I now propose to proceed to the next chapter, which is data presentation.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION

4.0 Introduction

In the initial statement of the problem of this study a *prima facie* case was made to the effect that the continued use of English language as medium of education in Tanzanian secondary and institutions of higher learning has negative consequences on the academic performance of the learners. It was also noted that both local and international experts on this issue had carried out several studies. All findings indicated that the English language was a source of difficulty for students at secondary level mainly (see **Chapter One**). However, the recommendations of the local experts and those of the international experts have differed greatly. While the local experts had recommended a shift to Kiswahili, the international experts had advocated measures to improve students' English language ability (see **Chapter One**). This study therefore set out to explore the current state of affairs in Tanzania with a view to establishing how well the ship of the state was navigating between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, (the "rock and the hard place") of educational shipwreck in either extreme, as well as what might constitute a safe middle course.

4.1 Working Hypotheses and research questions

The initial working hypotheses adopted in this study before going out to conduct field studies were that the publicly expressed fears about the poor levels of English in education would turn out to be well founded after discussion with teachers and examination of examiners' reports. I felt sure I would find a problem.

The research would then set out to discover:

- The level of knowledge about the policies on language in education;
- Whether these policies were being carried and the level of commitment.

If, as I suspected, there was widespread lack of knowledge about the government's decision to move to Kiswahili, I wanted to know:

- What the respondents' attitudes towards Swahilisation would be;
- Whether there would be differences in opinion among different groups;
- What these differences would be based on;
- And how this would affect national policy and educational achievement.

I also intended to look at behaviour as well as expressed opinion of the respondents. This would be to elicit how much support there was for the private primary sector which uses English as medium. Were the children of the elite group interviewed being educated in English or Kiswahili? And what was actually happening in the classroom. Did practice match up with policy statements?

As the fieldwork progressed it became clear that there is some confusion about policy, much inconsistency in implementation and a general worry about the language problems in education. As I researched, I tuned the questions to open up the areas, which my respondents were showing to be of concern to them. One of the key points to arise was the issue of globalisation, experienced both as threat as and an opportunity. In consequence I built a consideration of the phenomenon into my research. The major focus was to establish, in the context of one well-defined and significant context, clear evidence that these fears do in fact commonly exist.

4.2 Sources of Data

The sources of data, (*"Who/What"* will be studied in Denzin and Lincoln's terms see **Chapter 3**), people in the top and middle management at SUA will be the main source of data. These are the Vice Chancellor (VC), Deputy Vice Chancellor (DVC), Registrar, Deans of Faculties, Directors of institutes and a sample of heads of academic and administrative departments. However, as pointed out earlier, since SUA operates in a complex situation, and the fact that language policy formulation involves people outside SUA, the study will incorporate other sources data from the wider

Tanzanian society. The following will therefore be included in the study: the Commissioner of Education and Commissioner of Culture in the Ministry of Education (MoEC), Chairman of *BAKITA*⁶² and Director of Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE). MoEC is the ministry responsible for language policy formulation (through its Directorate of Culture). (*BAKITA* and TIE are among the Departments of MoEC responsible language policy formulation and designing educational curricular and production of teaching/learning materials including textbooks for primary and secondary education in the country respectively). In addition, Director of the Institute of Kiswahili Research (*Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili – TUKI*) will be included. *TUKI* work hand in hand with *BAKITA*. The source of data will also include a sample of Head Teachers of English –medium primary schools and a sample of parents who send their children to these schools⁶³. Lastly, under sources from outside SUA, a sample of peasants from two villages where SUA researchers and extension workers have on-farm research activities (for details of the sample see 4.2.1 below).

The study will also use available documents regarding language policy formulation/implementation from different sources within and outside SUA.

4.2.1 At Sokoine University of Agriculture:

Following the decision to treat the research as a group case study, it was necessary to conduct a thorough investigation at all levels in SUA (see **Chapter Three**). The aim was to know attitude and behaviour to see how implementation deviates from the ideal situation. The study therefore included the following:

a. Interviews: Interviews were held with upper and middle management:

- The Vice Chancellor, SUA;
- Deputy Vice Chancellor SUA;

⁶² For detailed function of *BAKITA* and *TUKI* see Chapter One

⁶³ The last two groups have been included because of the unprecedented mushrooming of private English –medium kindergarten/primary schools in urban settings in the history of education in Tanzania (see **Chapter One**) and are an example of the accommodation and repositioning mentioned in 3.3.1

- Registrar SUA (who was a former Chief Inspector and later the Commissioner of Education in the Ministry of Education and culture)
- Deans of Faculties/Directors of institutes at SUA:
 - Dean Faculty of Sciences;
 - Dean Faculty of Agriculture;
 - Dean Faculty of Forestry and Nature Conservation;
 - Dean Faculty of Veterinary Medicine;
 - Director, Research and Post Graduate Studies;
 - Director, Institute of Continuing Education;
 - Director, Development Studies Institute;
 - Director, Sokoine National Agricultural Library;
- Head, Administrative and personnel

b. **Observations:** I attended meetings of a number of the university committees to observe language use during such meetings. I also observed a number of classes.

c. **Documentary evidence:** Documents studied in this study were those which show language use such as the language of communication within and outside the university. Other documents included minutes of the University committee meetings, records from the file/archives such as examiners' reports.

Documents from the Ministry of Education and Culture included the following:

- a. *National Development Plan: Phase 2: 1969 - 1974* where major focus was, among other things, to train of middle- and high-level skilled manpower. The plan also stated a desire to shift to Kiswahili as medium of instruction in secondary and higher learning institutions was seen as a means to ensure acquisition of knowledge and skills relevant for the rural agrarian Tanzania.
- b. *Education and Training Policy, 1995*

- c. *Cultural Policy, 1997*
- d. Report of the English Language Teaching Support Project (ELTSP)
- e. Recent speech by the Deputy Minister of Education and Culture on the implementation of *1997 Cultural Policy*.

Other documentary evidence used in the study to investigate public opinion, on the debate of Swahilisation of the medium of education in Tanzania, was drawn from the local newspapers and local television. With regard to the extent of the English use on local television, and radio stations, their programmes were studied. Some of the documents mentioned above have been appended as **Annexes** of this study.

Another document included in this study is the *National Development Vision 2025*.

4.2.2 Outside Sokoine University of Agriculture:

The institutions and the people involved were either at the policy formulation level or who have been instrumental in making Kiswahili the medium of education in Tanzania in their different capacities. There were also interviews with parents and peasants. Thus, the interviews included the following people:

- a. Commissioner of Education, Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC);
- b. Commissioner of Culture, Ministry of Education and Culture;
- c. Director, Institute of Education;
- d. Chairman, National Kiswahili Council of Tanzania (*BAKITA*);
- e. Director, Kiswahili Research Institute, (*TUKI*);

Apart from these people, the following were also included in the study at the implementation/ language use level:

- f. Principal, Ministry of Agriculture Training Institute (MATI) Mlingano, Tanga;

- g. Head of Department, Foreign Languages and Linguistics, University of Dar es Salaam;
- h. Head Teachers from English-medium primary schools (*academies*);
- i. Parents with children in academies and three parents with children in ordinary primary schools.
- j. Peasants from two villages where SUA researchers, students and extension workers conduct their research and other outreach activities to modernise agriculture.

I shall now proceed to present the data source by source and topic by topic.

4.3 Data Presentation

I shall now present the data under the following major categories:

- Language use;
- Awareness of the language policy;
- Perception of the problem of the English language as medium of education in Tanzania;
- Personal opinion of the interviewees about the use of English language as medium of education in Tanzania.

Secondly, language of interaction during meetings of various university committees SUA will be discussed and in classes.

The format for the presentation will be as follows: description of the conduct of the interview such as the place of the interview, arrangement of the interview, language of interaction during the interview, and the interviewee's background. The following are the findings.

4.4 The Interviews

Before presenting the findings, I should at this stage point out the *a priori* design, i.e. what informed the creation of questionnaire and interviews.

I decided to use Kiswahili to conduct my interviews at all levels. There are two reasons for this choice. First, Kiswahili is the official language in Tanzania. My study involved respondents from different groups within SUA and outside SUA. In order to have a consistency in responses from my respondents, I felt that I should use Kiswahili. Secondly, I was interested to find out (based on my previous personal experiences) how much my respondents would code switch and code-mix between Kiswahili and English (although this was not my major focus of the study). However, there were also possible risks in using this approach, in that some of my interviewees (particularly the academics) might have not articulated pro-English, anti-Kiswahili attitudes. On the other hand, I felt strongly that because the issue I was investigating had been on the agenda for a long time, the use of Kiswahili in my interviews would give me a better grasp of the views and feelings of the interviewees.

The format of the questionnaire on which my interviews were based came from a desire to systematise what I had surmised from my previous experience. I wanted to know the extent of knowledge about language policy, intellectual commitment to it and actual language choice in various situations.

4.4.1 Interview with the Vice Chancellor, SUA

Conduct of the Interview

a. Place of Interview

The interview was held in the office of the Vice Chancellor.

b. Arrangement of the Interview

An appointment was sought to meet the VC through his personal secretary two days prior to the meeting. The VC requested to see beforehand the set of questions I

intended to ask during the meeting. These were given to him two days before the meeting.

c. Language of interaction

The interview questions were asked entirely in Kiswahili. Responses from the VC were mainly in Kiswahili but sometimes he resorted to English.

The Interviewee's Background and Experiences

Sex Male

Age 58 years

The current VC is one of the longest serving members of the academic staff at SUA. He has been a member of academic staff since 1972. He has served as the Dean of the then Faculty of Agriculture, Forestry and Veterinary Sciences when it was one of the Faculties of UDSM. When the Faculty became a fully-fledged Agricultural University in 1984, he became its first Deputy Vice Chancellor. He was appointed the VC in 1988. He has been in the saddle as the VC for more than 12 years.

I. Language Use.

a. Official Correspondence within SUA

The Vice Chancellor (VC) uses both Kiswahili and English in his official correspondences within SUA. However, the choice of the language is normally determined by the nature of the correspondence. For example, if the correspondence is between the office of the VC and academic administrators such as Deans of Faculty or members of academic staff, the language of communication is English. On the other hand, if the correspondence is between the office of the VC and the University general administration, the language of correspondence is Kiswahili. This is the general tendency. However, if the initiator of the correspondence wrote in either language, the office of the VC will respond in the same language of the initiator of the communication. Thus, generally, circulars from the VC's office for general university community would be in Kiswahili. On the other hand, when circulars specifically

address the academic community, the correspondence would be in English. In his own words the VC had this to say:

“Lugha ya mawasiliano inategemea ni nani unawasiliana naye. Kama ni mhadhiri, lugha yetu ya mawasiliano ni Kiingereza, na kama ni mtumishi mwingine, lugha ya mawasiliano mara nyingi ni Kiswahili”.

(Literally meaning: “the language of communication depends very much with whom one is corresponding. If it is between my office and a member of academic staff, the communication would be in English and if it is with non-academic staff, in most cases Kiswahili is used).

In a nutshell therefore, for academic matters and to members of the academic staff, correspondence would be in English and for general university matters involving both members of the academic; and administrative staff correspondence is usually in Kiswahili.

b. Correspondence outside SUA but within Tanzania

All correspondences between SUA and government offices outside SUA, including the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education (MSTHE) under whose umbrella SUA falls, is conducted in Kiswahili which is the official language in Tanzania (see Annex 9). However, correspondence with foreign institutions such as embassies based in Tanzania is done in English.

c. Correspondence outside SUA and outside Tanzania

All international correspondence between SUA and foreign institutions is done entirely in English.

d. Meetings with SUA community

“Ninapokutana na wafanyakazi wa Chuo, ninapaswa kutumia lugha rasmi ya serkali. Isitoshe, tunao wafanya kazi ambao hawajui lugha ya Kiingereza”.

(Meaning: When I hold a meeting with university workers, I am expected to use the official language. It is important to point out that some of our employees do not understand English language).

When addressing students in a *baraza* (or student leaders in his office), the official language of interaction is English. However, in practice, both Kiswahili and English are used. This depends very much on the nature of the meeting. For practical purposes and whenever need arises, a shift to Kiswahili is always the case for example when the VC needs to emphasize a point or wants to be clear on some points, etc. On the other hand, when addressing university workers, which is a common practice (involving both academic and administrative staff), the VC uses Kiswahili as the official language of interaction.

When addressing members of the academic staff only however, e.g. members of the Sokoine University Academic Staff Assembly (SUASA members, i.e. the teaching staff) the official language of interaction is expected to be English, but again in practice, both English and Kiswahili are used.

e. Visitors from outside SUA

When interacting with visitors to the University, again it depends on the nature of the visits and the kind of visitors. Thus, for local government officials, the language of interaction is Kiswahili as long as the visit is not related to academic activities. However, when the visit is related to academic matters, the language of interaction during the formal interaction is English. For example, when inviting the local visitor from outside SUA such as a government minister or any other high ranking government official to address students/members of academic staff on a topic related to academics, the introductory note would be in English. On the other hand, if such visit is administrative or political e.g. to address students/member of SUA community on subjects other than academic, then the language of interaction is Kiswahili. It is interesting to note here that when local visitors are in the VC's office (whether they

are on academic or administrative visit), the languages of interaction would be Kiswahili. When the visitors are foreigners however, the language of interaction is English.

f. VC as Chairman of University Committees

The Vice Chancellor is chairman of most top-level University committees such as the Senate and Committee of Deans. The language of interaction during such meetings is expected to be English. However, when either the Registrar or the Principal Administrative Officer of the University presents a paper from an administrative committee, the presentation of such paper is normally done in Kiswahili and the ensuing discussion is either in Kiswahili or English. There is no fast rule forbidding a member of the committee from using Kiswahili during such discussions.

g. Interaction within the office of the VC

Interaction with the VC's office supervisor/secretary is normally in Kiswahili. The VC does not make dictation to his secretary. Instead, all work to be typed by the personal secretary is normally hand-written by the VC himself and then typed by the secretary. In short, interaction in the office is carried out entirely in Kiswahili. This seems to be an **unnatural situation of language use in Tanzania**.

II. Awareness of the Language Policy

“Hatuna mwongozo wowote kuhusu lugha ya kufundishia katika taasisi za elimu ya juu. Hata hivyo, kwa vile elimu ya sekondari nchini hutolewa kwa lugha ya Kiingereza, kama ilivyo agizo la serkali, inategemewa kwamba lugha ya kufundishia katika taasisi za elimu ya juu ni Kiingereza pia”.

(Meaning: We do not have any guidelines on what language to use as the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning. However, since the medium of education in secondary schools is English, as per current government policy, it is expected that the medium of higher education is English too).

From the ensuing discussion with the VC it became apparent the VC is aware of the official language policy for office use as stipulated by government directive of 1965 which required Kiswahili to be used in all Government offices since it Tanzania's Official and National language. According to the directive, all correspondence between government offices and its institutions is done entirely in Kiswahili. Regarding the medium of instruction in institutions of higher learning however, there is no known government circular. (*"Hatuna mwongozo wowote kuhusu lugha ya kufundishia katika taasisi za elimu ya juu..."*). However, the VC is aware of the fact that **government policy regarding medium of instruction in secondary schools is English**.

It is therefore only being assumed that since the medium of instruction in secondary schools (at both O level and A-levels) is English, then the corollary is that the medium of education in the higher learning institutions is subsequently English. This is a sort of common sense of an unwritten law. (This fact was also made clear by the Commissioner of Education in the Ministry of Education and Culture, which is responsible for the language policy in the country).

III Perception of the problem of using English language as medium of education in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

Ripoti za watahini wa nje zinaonyesha kwamba wanafunzi wetu wanakabiliwa na tatizo la lugha ya Kiingereza katika kujieleza wanapojibu maswali katika mitihani yao ya mwisho wa mwaka wa masomo. Lugha yao ya Kiingereza sio fasaha, matokeo yake huandika sentensi fupi fupi na zenye dosari mbalimbali".

(Meaning: External examiners' reports point out that students have problems with the English language when they attempt examination questions in the end-of-year university examinations. They write short incoherent sentences).

On the question of falling standard of the English language and education in general, the VC's personal experience is that the standards have fallen. For example, regarding

proficiency of learners in English language, there are more students failing on the University Screening Test (UST). Furthermore, there are more students failing in the end-of-year university examinations because of, among other things, the language factor. The language factor has been repeatedly pointed out in the external examiners' reports each year, which indicate that Tanzania University students' English proficiency is affecting their academic achievement.

Further evidence according to the VC is that

Students write shorter and incoherent essays in their academic subjects when he compares performance of the past years in the early seventies when more emphasis was put on the English language. Such emphasis included that a First class division in the examination was only awarded to a candidate who passed in the English language paper on top of other papers. Likewise there was a lot of emphasis on the oral examinations (which is no longer practised at secondary level).

Today however, a pass in both written and oral examination in English paper is no longer prerequisite for a student to get a first class (Division One) in their GCSE (O-level) examination. On the other hand, the VC also sees this as a false role the English language assumes in Tanzanian society where hardly five per cent of the population can use it effectively and where it is hardly used as day to day official language.

Conflicting forces in the society

"Baadhi ya watu wanashindwa kutofautisha kati ya kupata elimu na kuifahamu lugha ya Kiingereza. Sura hii ni mbaya zaidi kwa vile wanaofanya hivyo ni viongozi wa juu serkalini ambao ndio wanaotengeneza na kusimamia utekelezaji wa sera za serkali kuhusu maendeleo ya elimu nchini".

(Literally meaning: some people fail to differentiate between getting "educated" and acquiring English language skills).

Because of this "misconception" there is a growing number of **English medium** kindergarten/primary schools (*academies*) in urban areas. Furthermore, there are some parents who even send their children to neighbouring countries such as Kenya, Malawi

or Uganda where the medium of education is English. The VC sees this as a misconception between acquisition of knowledge and acquisition of language skills. As a result, those who are in position and are expected implement the desired national language policies to Kiswahilize the education system but fail to do so, are the very people who send their children to these *academies* and/or to the neighbouring countries. The VC also sees this practice as a sign of perpetuating a class issue in the society. Top government bureaucrats, and to a lesser degree, the business community would like to maintain a status quo by having their children obtain elitist kind of education with a hope that their (bureaucratic) class is enhanced and maintained through regeneration (See **Chapter Six** for further discussion).

IV. VC's Personal Opinion regarding the use of the English language as medium of instruction in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

The VC's opinion regarding language policy in general and use of the English language as medium of education in Tanzania in particular, is that the government should be firm and transparent in implementing its language policy. The question of the use of English or Kiswahili in secondary education has been on the government agenda since late sixties, and yet there is no firm decision on the implementation of the earlier decisions. The conflicting ideas in the society concerning the never-ending debate are a clear sign of weak implementation machinery. *The VC feels that the continued use of English does not necessarily make our learners more educated.* Furthermore, the majority of the graduates at all levels of educational tiers will never have the opportunity to use English regularly in their lives and in the society at large.

V. English language and the *National Development Vision 2025*.

“Mpaka sasa hivi Chuo hakijahusishwa kujumuisha katika mitaala yake mikakati ya Mpango wa Taifa wa Maendeleo wa Visheni 2025. Hata hivyo ninafahamu kwamba baadhi ya wataalam wa SUA wameshirikishwa katika kuuandaa mswada huu.

(Meaning: So far the University has not involved to incorporating the strategies of *Vision 2025* in its academic programmes).

In Chapter One it was stated that in order to achieve successfully the objectives of the *National Development Vision 2025*, emphasis is put on investing in quality education with a view to producing well-trained citizens of the 21st Century. It was also stated that this can only be achieved through increased enrolment in secondary and tertiary education where major focus is on the development of science and technology in order to train competent and skilled citizens to meet demands and challenges of the new millennium. Such demands therefore require clear language policy in as far as education and training is concerned. Currently, it has been shown that graduates from secondary and tertiary institutions in Tanzania do underachieve academically, among other things, because of low proficiency in the English language, which therefore acts as a barrier to acquisition of knowledge and skills.

According to the VC however, the concept of the *National Development Vision 2025* is yet to be directly incorporated in the current university curriculum in various degree programmes offered by the Sokoine University of Agriculture. Furthermore, the concept itself is still at its development stage. However, he is aware that some lecturers from SUA were involved in preparing *Vision 2025* document.

4.4.2 Interview with the Deputy Vice Chancellor (DVC), SUA.

Conduct of the interview

a. Place of interview

The interview was held in the DVC's office. The atmosphere was friendly as we sat in settees where coffee was also served.

a. Arrangement for the interview.

An appointment was sought through the personal secretary to see the DVC two days before the meeting. The DVC wanted to see the set of questions I intended to ask so

that he could prepare any relevant data if necessary. The interview schedule was given to the DVC two days prior to the meeting.

c. Language of interaction during the interview.

The interview questions were asked entirely in Kiswahili. However, in his responses, the DVC used both Kiswahili and English.

Interviewee's background and experiences

Sex Male

Age 53 years

The current Deputy Vice Chancellor (DVC) has a wide experience both within SUA and outside SUA. Before joining SUA as a member of the academic staff, he worked as government Regional Veterinary Officer in several regions in the country. Since he joined SUA he has been a member of academic staff, Head of Department and Dean of the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine before being appointed to the post of the DVC. He has been at SUA for over fifteen years and has been the DVC for over ten years.

Official duties of the DVC

The DVC is deputy to the VC and handles mainly the academic matters in the University. He is therefore the administrator of the academic staff on academic matters such as teaching, examinations, reviewing existing curricular, designing and developing new curricular/new degree programmes. The post of the DVC is therefore that of the chief academic officer in the University. He is the principal advisor to the VC on all matters pertaining to academics and general administration of the University. For example, he is the chairman of the Undergraduate Studies Committee (UGSC) of the Senate, which scrutinises academic excellence in the University. The Committee is an advisory body to the Senate on all academic matters. For example, all matters related to the academics and also members of the academic staff are discussed by the UGSC and its recommendations forwarded to the Senate for approval before implementations. Such matters include students examination results, review of old curricular and formation of new curricular if need arises. The UGSC also critically

discusses the external examiners' reports and recommends appropriate steps to the Senate to improve academic excellence in the University. Among other things which the committee takes into consideration from the external examiners' reports is the question of standard of the examination which includes the language factor, i.e. how proficiently students are able to express themselves in English. (Apart from administrative duties, the current DVC also teaches in the Department of Veterinary Medicine and Public Health, Faculty of Veterinary Medicine.

I. Language Use

a. Official Correspondence within SUA

Since the office of the DVC is the one responsible for academic matters, *most written communication to and from the DVC's office is in English* (see Annex 10). However, interaction between the DVC and the administrative staff in his office is in Kiswahili. For example, *when the DVC gives instruction to his secretary, the communication would be in Kiswahili*. Likewise, when the secretary communicates with the DVC, say over the intercom, *she would communicate in Kiswahili*. An example would help here. For example, when a visitor from outside Tanzania who can only communicate in English reports his presence to the DVC's secretary and the secretary then wishes to relay this information to the DVC, *she would do so in Kiswahili*. This is the general practice in almost all offices at SUA. (The situation is even more interesting in other government offices outside SUA where most secretaries cannot communicate in English with foreign visitors!).

b. Correspondence with outside SUA but within Tanzania

As discussed under the VC, *communication outside SUA from the office of the DVC to government offices within Tanzania is in Kiswahili*. On the other hand, *communication with foreign institutions within Tanzania in most cases would be in English*. However, since the office of the DVC handles academic matters, communication with *External Examiners within Tanzania, say from the University*

of Dar es Salaam or other institutions of higher learning is in English. This is mainly due to the fact that such communication involves academic matters.

c. Communication with outside Tanzania.

The same pattern discussed under the VC is also true with the office of the DVC. All communication outside Tanzania is normally in English.

d. Meeting with SUA community

When the DVC meets members of the academic staff on official matters, the language of interaction is normally English. However, as indicated earlier under VC, there is no fast rule. Members are at liberty to shift from English to Kiswahili and vice versa. In the case of meetings involving both members of academic and administrative staff however, the language of interaction is Kiswahili.

e. Visitors from outside SUA

The pattern discussed under the VC regarding visitor to SUA, is normally the practice. That is to say, *those visitors who visit SUA on academic matters, when speaking to the appropriate forum, use English. However, while in the office of the DVC, Kiswahili is the language of choice.*

f. DVC as chairman of various University Committees.

The DVC chairs meetings such as those of the Undergraduate Studies Committee of the (UGSC) of Senate. When the VC is absent from the University he also chairs meetings which are normally chaired by the VC. The language of interaction during the meetings of various committees is supposed to be English. Likewise, when the DVC chairs other committee meetings related to academic matters, the language of interaction is English. However in the course of discussion, the chairman or members of the committee may resort to Kiswahili to clarify issues or stress a point.

g. Interaction within the office of the DVC

Interaction within the office of the DVC, like in the office of the VC *is entirely in Kiswahili*. Thus, when the DVC interacts with his secretary, the language of choice is Kiswahili. The DVC does not give dictation to his secretary. He drafts all work to be typed by the secretary. The role of the secretary in this aspect is that of a copy-typist.

II. Awareness of the Language Policy

The DVC is aware of the official language policy in Tanzania regarding the use of Kiswahili as the official and the National language. Similarly, he is aware that the official language of instruction in secondary schools in the country is English. *Regarding the official language of interaction in institutions of higher learning in the country, the DVC is not aware of a particular government directive or policy.* It is only assumed that since the medium of instruction in secondary schools is English, then it naturally follows that the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning is English. It is on this assumption that the Office of the DVC which is responsible for academic excellence in the University, takes seriously all aspects of the academics in the University including the language factor of the learners. Thus, when the External Examiners submit their report to the Office of the DVC, he in turn requests respective Faculties/Departments to react to such reports. One of the elements of these reports which comes out persistently from almost every External Examiner's report every year, is the language deficiency of the candidates. External Examiners' reports and reactions from Faculties are then discussed in details by the UGSC before a recommendation is made and forwarded to the Senate for further action (see **Annex 1**).

Persistent reports of the External Examiners on poor language proficiency of the students led to the establishment of the Communication Skills Unit at SUA. The aim of establishing the Unit was to offer study skills as well as an intensive grammar course to undergraduate students with a view of improving their English language communicative competence. Establishment of the Communication Skills Unit could be seen a sign of an awareness of the problem of the English language as medium of

instruction in the institutions of higher learning, but may not necessarily be an awareness of the language policy. Furthermore, it would seem no one really attempts to look at the root cause of the problem. Instead emphasis is put on **“improving the students’ English language communicative skills through introduction of courses such as communication skills. Likewise, intensive grammar course is offered to those students who are found too weak in English”**. This is particularly necessary because most students fail to express ideas they have learned in their own language. There is therefore an element of communication breakdown between students and lecturers when it comes to exchanging communication e.g. in answering examination questions.

III. Perception of the problem of using English language as medium of education in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

“Nimeona wanafunzi wengi wakipata matatizo katika kufuata maelekezo wakati wanapojibu mitihani au kufanya majaribio kwa vitendo si kwa sababu hawana akili, bali kwa sababu hawaelewi lugha ya Kiingereza”.

(Meaning: I have seen many students failing to follow instructions in their examination, not because they are idiots, but because they do not understand English language fully).

Being a person of long experience both as an administrator as well as an academic, the DVC sees the problem as real. **“Students do not understand simple instructions especially when required to perform a task in examination settings”**. (*Nimeona wanafunzi wengi wakipata matatizo katika kufuata maelekezo wakati wanapojibu mitihani...*). Furthermore, DVC as a lecturer in public health in the Faculty of Veterinary medicine also finds it as an unfortunate situation that when students go out to conduct extension work among the peasants, they have to communicate in Kiswahili a language, which they do not use as medium of instruction. As a result, he finds students at a loss with some terminology that they learned in English in the

classroom situation. Students therefore resort to mixing languages between English and Kiswahili (code-mixing and/code-switching) while interacting with their clients, i.e. the peasants. He has always wondered whether the peasants actually followed the presentations made by the students. In his own words, the DVC had this to say:

“Kwa kuchanganya lugha hizi mbili, sina uhakika kama wakulima wanaelewa kile ambacho wanafunzi (na hata waalimu) wanajaribu kuwaelekeza”.

(Meaning: Since they (students and sometimes even lecturers) mix these two languages, I am not sure if peasants understand what they are being told)

Conflicting Forces in the Society

On the question of issues such as English medium primary schools or sending children to neighbouring countries to get education offered in the medium of the English language, the DVC feels this could be due to a lack of confidence in our primary education system offered entirely in the medium of Kiswahili. This is particularly true of the elite class. Thus those parents who resort to sending their children to English medium schools or to neighbouring countries where the medium of education is English feel that their children are advantaged when educated through the medium of the English language. But more importantly, the DVC feels that as long as English language remains the medium of education in secondary schools and in the institutions of higher learning, pupils in primary schools with help from their parents, will struggle to see that they master the language. Unfortunately, it is only a very small fraction of such parents who are able to send their children to these English-medium schools or to neighbouring countries.

IV. DVC's Personal Opinion regarding the use of the English language as medium of education in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

“Kuendelea kutumia Kiingereza kama lugha ya kufundishia ni kuwapendelea wachache katika jamii na kutumia raslimali kwa manufaa ya hao wachache”.

(Meaning: To continue using English as the medium of education favours only a small group of people in the society at the expense of the majority).

The DVC's personal opinion is that English and two or more foreign languages could be taught as a subject in secondary schools. Those who get interested in these foreign languages could then pursue further training depending on what line of profession they intend to follow in their later life. He feels that to use English, as medium of education is an undemocratic way of using scarce resources because the majority of students who do not progress to secondary education are regarded as "failures" and are therefore denied access to certain sectors of the world of work. (*Kuendelea kutumia lugha ya Kiingereza katika kufundishia ni kuwapendelea wachache katika jamii na kutumia raslimali kwa hao wachache....*).

4.4.3 Interview with the Registrar, SUA

Conduct of the Interview

a. Place of Interview

The interview was held in the Registrar's office

b. Arrangement of the Interview.

Appointment was made three days before the interview. The Registrar wanted to know what the interview was all about before agreeing to grant the opportunity. He also wanted to see the set of questions to be asked during the interview before hand.

c. Language of interaction during the Interview

The interview questions were asked entirely in Kiswahili. The Registrar's responses were in Kiswahili and English

Interviewee's Background and Experiences

Sex Male

Age 55 years

The current Registrar of the Sokoine University of Agriculture has a wide experience in the Tanzanian education system. He has been a secondary school teacher, a headmaster in several secondary schools, school inspector, and chief inspector of education in the Ministry of Education and Culture and finally, he was made the Commissioner of Education before he became the Registrar of SUA in 1997. With this kind of background and experiences, the Registrar has been valuable as one of the most knowledgeable respondents in this study.

I. Language Use

a. Official correspondence within SUA

The office of the Registrar uses both Kiswahili and English in its communication within SUA and outside SUA. This will depend very much on nature of the correspondence. For example, if a member of staff (academic or administrative) initiates a correspondence in English, the office of the Registrar will respond in English. Likewise, when the correspondence was initiated in Kiswahili, the office of the Registrar will react in Kiswahili. However, formal official communication with outside SUA but within Tanzania, would be in Kiswahili. With regard to circulars from the Office of the Registrar, the following is the practice: all circulars regarding academic matters to both students and members of the academic staff are communicated in English. On the other hand, when the circular is related to general administrative matters, the official language of correspondence is Kiswahili (see Annex 11). It was also noted that the non-academic members of staff tended to write in Kiswahili to the Registrar, while members of the academic staff either write in Kiswahili or in English.

b. Correspondence outside SUA but within Tanzania.

“Kuhusu mawasiliano na ofisi za serkali na mashirika yake, tunafuata mwongozo wa serkali wa kutumia lugha rasmi na lugha ya Taifa ambayo ni Kiswahili isipokuwa tunapowasiliana na balozi za nje zilizopo nchini”.

Most correspondence with outside SUA such as to government offices or individuals within Tanzania *is done in Kiswahili*, unless the initiator of the correspondence used English in the first place. This is in line with the government policy that the official language in Tanzania is Kiswahili. However, correspondence from the office of the Registrar to international organisations and foreign missions such as embassies within Tanzania, is normally done in English. Regarding this aspect, the Registrar had this to say: “... *isipokuwa tunapowasiliana na balozi za nje zilizopo nchini*”. (Meaning: ... Except when we correspond with foreign embassies based in the country).

c. Correspondence outside Tanzania

All correspondence from the officer of the Registrar with the outside world is carried out in English unless the original correspondence was initiated in Kiswahili.

d. Registrar as Chairman of University Administrative Services Committee

As stated earlier, the Registrar is the chairman of the University Administrative Services Committee. The membership of this committee includes both academic and administrative staff. General observation during one of the meetings of this committee shows that the agenda for the meeting is normally prepared in English except where the item of the agenda is to be presented in Kiswahili. Similarly, papers from different Units, which render services to the University community such as the Estates and the Farm, are either prepared entirely in English or entirely in Kiswahili. *The ensuing discussion during the meeting, however, is carried out in Kiswahili.*

e. Registrar as secretary to the University Council

The Act that established SUA stipulates that the Registrar is the Secretary to the University Council. *It is important once again to stress here that although the academic official language of the University is English, the official language of the University Council is Kiswahili.* As a matter of fact, all matters which were previously discussed and endorsed by the lower boards and committees such as the Faculty Boards, UGSC and the Senate and then forward to the Council for approval

or further deliberation, have to be translated into Kiswahili beforehand for the Council meeting. It is the duty of the Office of the Registrar to ensure that all papers from these lower boards and committees to be presented to the Councillors for discussion and endorsement are translated into in Kiswahili. This is means that all the papers that were previously in the English language have to be translated. (These are the papers normally discussed at University organs such as the Senate). This is an enormous job, which involves a lot of paper work and is arguably a waste of economic resources (see Annex 12).

f. Visitors from outside SUA

Visitors from outside SUA who visit the office of the Registrar but from within Tanzania, use the official language in the country which is Kiswahili. However, English is the language of interaction with foreign visitors from outside Tanzania.

g. Interaction within the Office of the Registrar.

Interaction within the office of the Registrar, like in most offices at SUA and in Tanzania in general, is in Kiswahili. Thus when the Registrar gives directives to his secretary, he does so in Kiswahili. The Registrar does not give dictation to his secretary. All work to be typed by the secretary has to be hand-drafted by the Registrar himself.

II. Awareness of the Language Policy

“Sijauona mwongozo wowote kuhusu lugha rasmi ya kufundishia katika taasisi za elimu ya juu nchini. Hata hivyo, kwa vile lugha rasmi ya kufundishia elimu ya sekondari ni Kiingereza, basi inategemewa kwamba lugha rasmi ya kufundishia elimu ya juu ni Kiingereza pia”.

(Meaning: I have no seen a particular guideline regarding the medium instruction to use in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania. However, since English is the medium of secondary education, it is expected that the medium of higher education is English too).

The Registrar is aware of the official language policy in the country. That is, Kiswahili is the official language for office use and also the National language in Tanzania. Furthermore, he is aware of the fact that the medium of instruction in primary schools is Kiswahili and for secondary schools is English. He is not however, *aware of a particular government policy or directive which categorically states what medium of instruction to be used in the institutions of higher learning*. It is only assumed that since the medium of instruction in secondary schools is English, then it follows that the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning is English.

III. Perception of the Problem of using English language as medium of education in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania

The Registrar feels that the problem of use of the English language as medium of education in secondary school and in the institutions of higher learning is complex. On the one hand, there are forces that demand for a change to Kiswahili as medium of education, while on the other hand there are forces that would like to see English language remains the medium of instruction. This is what he had to say:

“Pamekuwa na mvutano wa muda mrefu kuhusu swala la lugha rasmi ya kufundishia katika shule za sekondari na taasisi za elimu ya juu. Mwaka wa 1967 serikali ilibadilisha lugha rasmi ya kufundishia katika shule za msingi kutoka Kiingereza na kuwa Kiswahili kwa malengo ya kubadilisha lugha ya elimu ya sekondari kuwa Kiswahili pia katika siku za baadaye. Maazimio hayo yamebakia katika kumbukumbu tu, hakuna utekelezaji uliofanyika. Hii inatokana na mvutano uliopo katika jamii ya Tanzania kuhusu swala la lugha ipi iwe lugha rasmi ya elimu ya sekondari na taasisi za elimu ya juu nchini.”

(Meaning: There has been a tug of war for a long time now on the question of medium of instruction in secondary schools and in the institutions of higher learning. In 1967 the Government changed the medium of instruction from English to Kiswahili in primary schools with a view of changing the same in secondary schools. These early proposals have remained in files because of this never-ending debate on the question

of the medium instruction in secondary schools and in the institutions of higher learning in the country”).

IV Personal Opinion of the Registrar on the language policy in Tanzania.

The Registrar feels that decision-makers have taken too long to implement various recommendations regarding a change from English to Kiswahili. He feels that English language has failed to deliver education particularly in secondary schools. His experiences as education inspector indicate that teachers in secondary schools always resort to Kiswahili during classroom teaching. He argues that if teachers are more confident in using Kiswahili, why not change to Kiswahili? This is what he had to say:

Kama waalimu wanajiamini zaidi kufundisha kwa lugha ya Kiswahili kuliko Kiingereza, kwa nini serkali isikifanye Kiswahili kuwa lugha rasmi ya kufundishia mashuleni na vyuoni?

(Meaning: If teachers are more confident to teach in Kiswahili, why shouldn't the government make Kiswahili the medium of education?).

4.4.4 Interview with the Dean, Faculty of Sciences

Conduct of the Interview

a. Place of Interview

The interview was held in the Dean's office

b. Arrangement of the interview

An appointment was sought with the Dean personally a day before the interview.

c. Language of interaction during the interview

The interview was conducted entirely in Kiswahili. Responses from the Dean were in both English and Kiswahili.

Interviewee's Background and Experiences

Sex Male

Age 50 years

The current Dean of the Faculty of Sciences (hereinafter FoS) studied both within Tanzania and outside and has been at SUA as member of academic staff since 1975. He has wide experience in teaching both undergraduates and postgraduate students. Apart from teaching, he has been an administrator for some time, first, as head of the Department of Animal Science and later, as the Co-ordinator of the Basic Sciences Unit until it was elevated to a full-fledged Faculty of Science.

I. Language Use

a. Correspondence with other Departments in the University and Outside SUA

Correspondence with higher offices and other faculties/departments within the University is done in English. However, if the initiator of the communication wrote in Kiswahili, then the office of the Dean would respond in the same language. However, correspondence outside SUA but within Tanzania and with government offices is done in Kiswahili unless the initiator of the correspondence wrote in English. Correspondence with agencies and individuals outside Tanzania is done in English.

b. The Dean as Chairman of Various committees in the Faculty

The Dean chairs number committees within the Faculty. They are such as the Faculty Board and Faculty Examiners' Board. The language of interaction during such committee meetings (which are mainly for academic purposes) is English. Likewise, minutes of the meeting are also written in English. However, his experiences show that members of these committees sometimes resort to Kiswahili during such meetings. This happens particularly when a member wants to emphasize a point of view or make a joke. Although English language competence of staff has never been investigated, this may not be a problem, as most of the older generation of the academic staff got their education in the medium of English in the days when English had higher status in Tanzania. On the other hand, it would be of interest to investigate

why members of staff code-switch and code-mix during occasions which require them to interact entirely in the English language and vice versa. Is it a question of competence in either English or Kiswahili?

c. Meeting with students

When meeting with students or students' representatives, the language of interaction is supposed to be English. However, it is a common practice for both the Dean and the students to resort to Kiswahili in the course of the ensuing discussions. There are however, no regular meetings with the students or students' representatives except when there is an academic issue which needs attention of the Dean of Faculty.

d. Interaction within the office of the Dean

With regards to interaction with the administrative staff in Faculty such as the secretary or office supervisor, all communication is in Kiswahili. The Dean does not give dictation to the secretary. All work for typing is hand-written by the Dean and copy-typed by the secretary. There is no dictation machine either.

II. Awareness of the Language Policy

The Dean of the Faculty of Sciences claims that he is not aware of the official language policy at the University. Furthermore, there are not directives from higher authorities within the University regarding what language to use in the office. He, however, assumes that English language is the official language of education of the universities and other institutions of higher learning in the country because this has been the practice in the past. In his own words this is what he had to say:

"Kwa vile hiki ni Chuo Kikuu, ninadhani lugha rasmi ya kufundishia hapa Chuo kikuu ni Kiingereza. Sijawahi kupata maelekezo kutoka utawala wa Chuo kwamba ni lazima nitumie lugha ya Kiingereza au Kiswahili katika shughuli za uendeshaji wa ofisi. Darasani ninatumia lugha ya Kiingereza kwa sababu ndiyo lugha ambayo imekuwa ikitumika siku zote".

(Meaning: Since this is a University, I think the language of instruction is English. I have never received any directive from the University administration that I have to use English or Kiswahili in the administrative matters of the office of the Dean. I use English during the lectures because it has been the language of instruction in the past”).

III. Perception of the problem of using English language as medium of education in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

The Dean's personal experience over the years is that students' (and to some extent, members of academic staff's) proficiency in the English language has fallen. For example, students' essays are difficult to read because of poor grammar, low expressive power and fuzzy expressions, which are sometimes difficult to decipher. Furthermore, as a result of this, students tend to write shorter essays than was the practice in the past. However, the Dean feels that the root-course of the problem lies in secondary schools where he feels that English is not taught properly.

“Kiwango cha Kiingereza cha wanafunzi na pengine hata cha wahadhiri kimekuwa kikishuka mwaka hadi mwaka. Kwa maoni yangu naona tatizo lipo kwenye shule za sekondari. Wanafunzi hawafundishwi vizuri lugha ya Kiingereza”.

(Meaning: The standard of English of our undergraduate students has been deteriorating year after year. My person opinion is that the problem lies in secondary education. Students are not taught English language properly).

IV Dean's Personal Opinion regarding the use of English as medium of education in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

Despite the problems with English the Dean feels that it would be a grave mistake if the government made Kiswahili the medium of education in secondary schools and institutions of higher learning in the country. In his opinion, a change to Kiswahili

would isolate Tanzanians from the world of science and technology. This is what he had to say:

“Serkali itafanya kosa kubwa sana kubadili mfumo wa hivi sasa wa kutumia Kiingereza kama lugha ya kufundishia sekondari na katika taasisi za elimu ya juu. Watanzania wataachwa nyuma katika maendeleo ya sayansi na teknolojia”.

Meaning: The government would be making a serious mistake to change the current system whereby English is the medium of secondary and higher education. Tanzanians would be left behind in the field of science and technology).

4.4.5 Interview with the Dean, Faculty of Agriculture

Conduct of the Interview

a. Place of interview.

The interview was held in the Office of the Dean

b. Arrangement of the Interview

An appointment was personally sought with the Dean two days before. Prior to the interview the Dean was briefed about the aim of the interview.

c. Language of Interaction during the Interview

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. The Dean responded in both Kiswahili and English.

d. Interviewee's Background and Experiences

The current Dean of the Faculty of Agriculture is among the first graduates from this Faculty and one of the long-serving members of the academic staff. He did his postgraduate studies (up to PhD D level) within Tanzania. Prior to being elected Dean, he served as a Head, Department of Animal Sciences (one of the seven departments in the Faculty of Agriculture). He has therefore a wide experience in both teaching and administration at Sokoine University of Agriculture. He has also worked outside Tanzania on secondment to one of the Organisation of African Unity's (OAU) agencies concerned with livestock development in Africa (ILCA) in Addis Ababa.

I Language Use

a. Correspondence with other Departments in the University and Outside SUA

Correspondence with other University Departments including University administrative offices such as the office of the VC, DVC and Registrar is done in English. However, in certain administrative matters the correspondence is also done in Kiswahili. Likewise, correspondence with members of staff in the Faculty is mainly in English particularly with members of academic staff. With non-academic staff, correspondence is either in English or Kiswahili. This would very much depend on the language used by the initiator of the correspondence.

b. Correspondence outside SUA but within Tanzania

Correspondence with government offices and institutions or individuals outside SUA is mainly done in Kiswahili, unless the initial correspondence was started in English.

c. Correspondence outside Tanzania

All correspondence with outside Tanzania is done in English.

d. The Dean as Chairman of various committees within the Faculty

The Dean chairs a number of Committees in the Faculty. Such committees include Faculty Board and the Faculty Examiners' Board. Official language of interaction during meetings is English. Minutes of the meeting are written and read in English. Secretary to the Faculty Board is not a member of academic staff. The Dean's personal experience in chairing such meetings indicates that members of the committee often fall back into Kiswahili - particularly when one intends to stress a point or crack a joke.

e. Meeting with Students

There are no regular meetings with students. However, when need arises to meet students or student representatives, the language of interaction is usually English. However, Kiswahili is used as a language of compromise especially when discussing

sensitive academic issues. Records of such meetings are however, kept in the English language.

f. Interaction within the office of the Dean

The general practice is that interaction within the office of the Dean is in Kiswahili. This is true for both academic members and non-academic members of staff. However, if there is any follow-up correspondence this may either be in English or Kiswahili, depending on the nature of the communication. That is, if the communication was on academic matters then the correspondence would be in English, but if communication was on non-academic matters, then the correspondence could either be in English or Kiswahili. The Dean does not give dictation to his secretary. All work for typing by the secretary is hand-written and the secretary copies.

g. Dean as member of academic staff.

Apart from office work, the Dean as member of academic staff also has teaching slots in his weekly activities. In Teaching the Dean uses English only. However, when giving explanations especially outside the lecture room, he may use Kiswahili to clarify points. This is what he had to say in his own words:

“Ninatumia lugha ya Kiingereza tu, kwani ndio lugha rasmi ya kufundishia darasani. Ninapokuwa nje ya darasa ninaweza kutoa maelezo kwa Kiswahili. Hii inatokea pale wanafunzi wakiniuliza kwa Kiswahili, au kama ninaona hawanielewi.”

(Meaning: I try to use English as much as possible in my teaching in the classroom. Outside the classroom, I may use both English and Kiswahili to make clarifications).

Thus according to the Dean, he sometimes resorts to explain in Kiswahili only when he feels that students were not clear with what he was teaching or when they ask him in Kiswahili.

II Awareness of the Language Policy

The Dean of the Faculty of Agriculture is not aware of a particular language policy, which governs the operation of the University because both Kiswahili and English are being used on the campus. He is however aware that English language has been the language of instruction in the University in the past and continues to be so and that the official government language is Kiswahili. According to him therefore, both English and Kiswahili could be the official languages in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania although he has never seen any particular directive from the University authority instructing him what language to use where and when. Thus this is what he had to say:

“Binafsi sielewi hasa sera ya lugha rasmi ya kutumia hapa Chuoni. Ninachofahamu tumekuwa tukifundishwa na sasa tunaendelea tunafundisha kwa Kiingereza. Pia ofisini tunatumia Kiswahili. Hivyo nafikiri sera ya lugha rasmi ya Chuo ni kutumia Kiingereza na Kiswahili”.

(Meaning: Personally I have no idea about the official language policy at the University. What I understand is that we use English in teaching. In the offices we use Kiswahili. I think the official language of the University is both English and Kiswahili).

III. Perception of problem of using English language as medium of education in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

The Dean's perception of the problem of the English language as language of education at the University and other institution of higher learning in Tanzania is that English has ceased to be a viable language of instructions, because students do not understand the language properly. So according to the Dean, students' achievement could be hampered by the language factor.

IV. Dean's Personal opinion

However, the Dean's personal opinion is that a change to Kiswahili as medium of instruction would have more negative consequences than the current situation generates. For example, in the international arena, Tanzanians would be more handicapped than they are at the moment. The solution is therefore to make English

the official language and the medium of education at all tiers of education in the country. The following argument was made:

“Kutumia lugha ya Kiswahili kama lugha rasmi ya kufundishia katika shule za sekondari na katika taasisi za elimu ya juu kutailitea Tanzania madhara zaidi katika mfumo wa elimu katika siku za baadaye. Kwa maoni yangu, serkali ingekifanya Kiingereza kuwa lugha rasmi ya ofisini na pia lugha rasmi ya elimu kwa ngazi zote.”

(Meaning: To use Kiswahili as the medium of instruction in secondary schools and institutions of higher learning would do more harm to Tanzanian education. To give more status to English, the Government should make English its official language and continue to use it as medium of secondary and higher education”).

h. English language and the *National Development Vision 2025*.

The Dean claims that his office has the official document concerning the *National Development Vision 2025*. However, there are no specific directives on how to link the directive with the University curriculum

4.4.6 Interview with the Dean, Faculty of Forestry and Nature Conservation.

Conduct of the Interview

a. Place of interview

The interview was held in the Dean's office.

b. Arrangement of the Interview.

An appointment with the Dean was sought personally over the phone two days before the day of the interview. The Dean was briefed on the aims of the interview.

c. Language of interaction during the interview.

The interview questions were asked entirely in Kiswahili. The responses however were up to more in English than Kiswahili!

Interviewee's Background and Experiences

Sex Male

Age 49 years.

The Dean of the Faculty of Forestry and Nature Conservation is among the first graduates of the Faculty of Agriculture, Forestry and Veterinary Sciences (now SUA). He did his doctoral studies overseas. He is among the longest serving members of academic staff in the university. He has been a head of department before being appointed Dean of the Faculty. He has served in various committees in the University and has chaired a number of *ad hoc* committees formed by the University administration on several occasions. Apart from his administrative duties, he also teaches in his department.

I. Language Use

a. Correspondence with other Departments in the University and outside SUA

Correspondence with other departments within SUA *is done in English* except in response to a correspondence initiated in Kiswahili. However, *Kiswahili is used in official correspondence to non-academic staff in the faculty.*

b. Correspondence outside SUA but within Tanzania

Correspondence outside SUA e.g. with government offices, institutions or individuals, *is done in Kiswahili.* However, correspondence with international agencies within Tanzania *is mainly done in English unless the initial communication was done in Kiswahili.*

c. Correspondence outside Tanzania

Correspondence with international organisations, agencies or individuals *is done entirely in English.*

d. Dean as Chairman of various committees within the Faculty

The main committees in the Faculty that are chaired by the Dean are the Faculty Board and the Faculty Examiners' Board. The language of interaction during such meetings

is English. However, if there is a paper from other units within the University which is presented in Kiswahili and which requires to be deliberated upon by the Faculty Board, it is normally discussed in Kiswahili. On the other hand, individual Board members may resort to Kiswahili when discussing touchy issues or when one wishes to stress a point. Minutes of these committees meetings are written in English except where the paper was discussed in Kiswahili. The secretary to both Faculty and Examiners' Boards is not a member of academic staff.

e. Meeting with Students

There are no regular meetings with students except when there is an issue raised by the students or their representatives, which requires attention of the Dean. If such issue involves a meeting between the Dean and the students or student representatives English is normally the language of interaction. However, as mentioned earlier, such meetings may end up discussing issues in Kiswahili.

f. Interaction within the Office of the Dean.

Interaction with both academic and non-academic members of staff in the Faculty is normally done *in Kiswahili*. However, there is a tendency to code-mix between English and Kiswahili when interacting with a member of academic staff. Nevertheless, where appropriate, any follow up correspondence to either member of academic staff or non-academic staff may be either in Kiswahili or English depending on the nature of the issue. On the other hand, when the Dean gives an instruction to the office supervisor or personal secretary, the language of interaction is Kiswahili. The Dean does not give dictation but hand-writes a draft that is copy-typed by the personal secretary.

g. The Dean as member of the academic staff.

Dean of Faculty is basically a member of academic staff and is therefore involved in teaching and other academic activities in the Faculty. In teaching, the Dean uses English as far as possible in the lecture room. He indicated that he was not told by the

University administration to use English in his teaching but because it has been the practice to use English as medium of instruction at the university ever since university education was introduced in Tanzania. Notes and handouts are prepared in English. Likewise, examinations and other classroom exercises are set in English. Discussions and explanations outside the classroom may either be in English or Kiswahili. According to the Dean, the official language of instruction at the University is "expected" to be English because it has been in use since the University was established. This is what he had to say:

*"Ninategemea kwamba lugha rasmi ya kufundishia hapa chuo kikuu ni Kiingereza ingawa sijaelezwa hivyo na utawala wa chuo".
Hii ni kwa sababu Kiingereza ndiyo lugha ambayo imekuwa ikitumika toka zamani."*

(Meaning: I expect that the medium of instruction at the University is English, although I have never been told so by the University administration. This is because English has been in use ever since we got the University).

II Awareness of the Language Policy

The Dean is not aware of any language policy document existing in the Faculty or in the University. However, he is aware of the official national language policy to be used in the government offices. As far as teaching is concerned, he takes for granted that since the policy for medium of education in secondary schools in the country is English, then it is also the case is that the language of instruction at the University and other institutions of higher learning in the country. This is what he had to say:

"Sijapata kuona mwongozo wowote wa lugha ipi ya kufundishia hapa Chuoni. Hata hivyo lugha ambayo imekuwa ikitumika tangu zamani ni Kiingereza. Maofisini tunatumia Kiswahili kwa sababu ndio lugha ya Taifa".

(Meaning: I have never seen a directive on the medium to use in teaching hear at the University. However, English has been in use since the old days. In the offices we use Kiswahili because it is the national language).

III. Dean's Perception regarding the use of the English language as medium of instruction in institutions of higher learning in the Tanzania.

"Ni kweli kwamba kiwango cha lugha ya Kiingereza cha wasomi wetu kimeshuka sana. Hata hivyo ufumbuzi wa tatizo sio kutumia lugha ya Kiswahili kama lugha ya kufundishia mashuleni na vyuoni. Badala yake, lugha ya Kiingereza iboreshwe zaidi na itumike katika ngazi zote za elimu nchini, hata kama lugha hiyo haitumiwi na Watanzania wengi katika shughuli zao za kila siku".

(Meaning: It is true that the level of competence in of most Tanzanian students is low. However, the solution to this problem is not to shift to Kiswahili as medium of education. Instead, English language should be strengthened by using it as medium of instruction at all levels even if not majority of the Tanzanian use it in day to day activities").

The Dean agrees that currently the level of students' competence in English language has fallen dramatically. (*Ni kweli kwamba kiwango cha lugha ya Kiingereza cha wasomi wetu kimeshuka sana....*). However, instead of shifting to Kiswahili as medium of education, English should be strengthened as a sole medium of education at all tiers of the education system regardless of whether English language has or has no utility by the majority of the population. He further argues that English language is a major international language that is the main lingua franca of the world. Future generations need to access the world at their fingertips using modern communication technology such as the Internet facilities which are currently easily accessible in the medium of the English language.

IIIa English language and the *National Development Vision 2025*.

The Dean (along with other Deans and Directors) was once invited to a short seminar, which introduced them to the concept of *National Development Vision 2025*. However, this document is yet to be linked to University curriculum with a view of producing specific manpower requirement at the University level.

IV Dean's Personal Opinion on the status of the English language in Tanzania

Ijapokuwa lugha ya Kiingereza haina watumiaji wengi hapa Tanzania, itumike kama lugha ya kufundishia, tena katika ngazi zote za elimu hapa nchini kwa sababu lugha ya Kiingereza ni lugha ya dunia nzima”.

(Meaning: Although there are not many speakers of English in every day situations in Tanzania, it should be used as the medium of instruction at all levels)

The Dean is of the opinion that although English is not widely used by ordinary people in Tanzania, it should be used as medium of education at all levels of education because English is a major international language. Furthermore in order for our students to access knowledge in textbooks and journals that are written in English, they need to have at least some competence in this language.

4.4.7 Interview with the Dean, Faculty of Veterinary Medicine.

Conduct of the Interview

a. Place of Interview

The interview was held in the office of the Dean.

b. Arrangement of the Interview

An appointment was sought from the Dean personally a day before the interview day.

c. Language of interview

The interview questions were asked in entirely in Kiswahili. The responses were both in Kiswahili and English.

The Interviewee's Background and Experiences

Sex Male

Age 45 years

The current Dean of the Faculty of Veterinary medicine is a graduate of SUA where he obtained his first and masters degrees. He did his PhD studies abroad. He has been a member of the academic staff for over twenty years. He has been involved in teaching, research, extension and consultancy. His department (Veterinary Medicine

and Public Health) is highly involved with extension work in both urban and rural areas. He has therefore worked along with peasants in many villages in Tanzania. He has previously been Head of Department (Veterinary Medicine and Public Health) prior to becoming the Dean. His experiences with ordinary people in Tanzania are therefore very useful to this study.

I Language Use

a. Correspondence with other Departments in the University and outside SUA

The official language of the University regarding academic matters is English.

Thus, communication flow from/to top organs of the University such as the Office or the VC or DVC regarding academic matters is in English. Similarly, when corresponding with departments within the Faculty on academic matters, **English language is used.** On the other hand, correspondence regarding general administrative matters which involves both members of academic and non-academic staff within the Faculty ***is in Kiswahili.*** There is however, no fast rule on this.

b. Correspondence with outside SUA but within Tanzania

Correspondence with government offices, institutions and individuals outside SUA is done in **Kiswahili unless the initial correspondence was in English.** Correspondence with international organisations and agencies within Tanzania is normally done in English.

c. Correspondence outside Tanzania

Correspondence with international organisations, institutions or individuals **is done in English.**

d. Dean as chairman of various committees in the Faculty.

The Dean of a Faculty is the Chairman of the Examiners and Faculty Boards respectively. These are the main boards that handle academic matters at Faculty level.

There are also other committees such as the UGSC of the Faculty, whose chairman could be another member of the academic staff such as Head of an academic department in the Faculty. Official language of interaction during meetings of these boards is English. Minutes of the meetings are recorded in English. Recorder of the meeting is not a member of the academic staff. Experiences during the meetings shows that although English is the main language of interaction, members do resort to Kiswahili from time to time especially when they wish to emphasise a point of view or crack a joke.

e. Meeting with Students

“Mara nyingi mikutano na wanafunzi huanza kwa lugha ya Kiingereza, lakini wanafunzi hutumia zaidi Kiswahili wakati wa majadiliano”

(Meaning: Usually, a meeting with students starts in English, but students tend to use Kiswahili more in the meeting).

There are no formal meetings with students or student representatives. However, circumstances may demand an ad hoc meeting with students or student representatives especially when there is an academic problem that needs to be discussed by the Dean and the students. The formal official language during such meetings is expected to be English. As in many instances of language use, code mixing and code switching between English and Kiswahili seem to be the common practice. According to the Dean, students tend to code-switch to Kiswahili most often. (... *Lakini wanafunzi hutumia zaidi Kiswahili wakati wa majadiliano*).

f. Interaction within the Office of the Dean

Interaction within the office of the Dean is mainly in Kiswahili for both academic and non-academic members of staff. This includes giving directives to the office supervisor or secretary. The Dean does not give dictation to his secretary. Any work from the desk of the Dean to be typed by the secretary has to be hand-written by the

Dean. When members of academic staff hold discussion with the Dean, this is normally in Kiswahili (with a lot of code-mixing/code-switching between Kiswahili and English). However, any follow-up written communication between the office of the Dean and the member of staff would normally be in English. In the case of non-academic member of staff, such follow-up communication would normally be in Kiswahili.

g. Dean as member of academic staff

“Darasani ninatumia lugha ya Kiingereza kwani ndio lugha ya kufundishia. Hata hivyo nikiona wanafunzi hawanielewi, inanibidi nieleze mambo machache kwa Kiswahili”

(Meaning: I use English in the classroom because it is the medium of instruction. However, if I feel that the students are not clear I sometimes make explanation in Kiswahili).

The Dean as member of academic staff also teaches in his subject speciality area. The official language in the lecture theatre is English. These views expressed by the Dean seem to be the tendency of many members of the academic staff who elaborate in Kiswahili in the course of their teaching. (*Darasani ninatumia lugha ya Kiingereza.... Nikiona wanafunzi hawanielewi, inanibidi nieleze mambo machache kwa Kiswahili*). According to the Dean, such a situation arises when one finds that the student may be at a loss following his presentation in English. This is normally realised when students ask questions which indicate that the subject matter was not clearly understood.

II. Awareness of the Language Policy

“Mimi sifahamu sera ya lugha rasmi ya elimu wala sijaona mwongozo wowote kuhusu ni lugha ipi itumike katika kufundisha. Ninachofahamu ni kwamba lugha ya kufundishia elimu ya msingi

ni Kiswahili na lugha ya kufundishia elimu ya sekondari na hapa chuo kikuu ni Kiingereza”.

The current Dean has not seen any government directive regarding the language policy in the country particularly with regard to the medium of instruction in schools. What he is aware of, however, is the “tradition” of offering primary education in Kiswahili, while in secondary and higher education English is used. He is also aware of the fact that the official language in government offices (including SUA) is Kiswahili. He has never received any directive from higher authorities in the University ruling on the use of English or Kiswahili in offices and teaching respectively. There is therefore no language conflict. On the other hand, the Dean is aware of the fact that students’ English language proficiency has greatly deteriorated over the years. He has also noted that his students on extension work (field/ practical) with the peasant find it difficult to express themselves in Kiswahili without resorting to code mixing between Kiswahili and English when interacting with peasants. This he finds rather embarrassing because he feels that the peasants do not get some of messages fully.

III. Perception problem of using English language as the medium of education in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

Kiwango cha lugha ya Kiingereza cha wanafunzi kimeshuka sana kiasi cha kuwafanya wasiweze kufuata vizuri masomo katika lugha hiyo.

The Dean’s personal experience is that students’ English language proficiency has drastically gone down. He observes that students are not competent enough to follow their studies properly when conducted entirely in the medium of English language. As a result, students do not follow their lectures properly. When they write essays or answer examination questions, they write very short incoherent essays when compared to what students used to write ten years ago.

IV. Dean’s personal views regarding the use of the English language as medium of instruction in institutions of higher learning in the Tanzania.

“Kwa sasa kiwango cha lugha ya Kiingereza nchini kimeshuka sana kiasi cha kufanya wanafunzi wasiyaelewe masomo yao vizuri. Hata hivyo, badala ya kutumia Kiswahili kama lugha ya kufundishia, lugha ya Kiingereza iimarishwe”.

(Meaning: Generally the level of English language of most students in Tanzania has gone down to the extent that students are no longer able to follow their studies properly).

The Dean agrees that currently the level of students' competence in English language has fallen drastically. (*Students' level of English language competence has drastically fallen....*). However, instead of shifting to Kiswahili as medium of education, English should be strengthened as a sole medium of education at all tiers of the education system regardless of whether English language has or has no utility among the majority of the population of Tanzania. (*The teaching and use of the English language in schools should be strengthened*).

V English language and the *National Development Vision 2025*.

The Dean has seen the document about the *National Development Vision 2025*. However, this document is so far not directly linked to the University curriculum with aims or goals of preparing manpower equipped with specific knowledge or skills.

4.4.8 Interview with the Director, Research and Postgraduate Studies

Conduct of the Interview

a. Place of Interview

The interview was held in the Director's office.

b. Arrangement of the Interview.

An appointment was sought with the Director over the phone a day before the day of the interview.

c. Language of interaction during the interview

The interview questions were asked entirely in Kiswahili. The Director's responses were however, mainly in English.

Interviewee's Background and Experiences

Sex Male

Age 48 years

The current Director of the Directorate of Research and Postgraduate Studies (R&PGS) is a graduate of SUA for his undergraduate and Master's degree courses. He did his PhD. D. abroad. He has been at SUA for over fifteen years as lecturer and researcher in the Department of Veterinary Physiology. He has been Director in of the R&PGS for two terms each of three years.

I. Language Use

a. Correspondence with other University Departments

The Director uses English in his correspondence with other University Departments and offices. Kiswahili may be used if and when the initiator of the communication to the Directorate used Kiswahili in the first place.

b. Correspondence with outside SUA but within Tanzania

"Mawasiliano kwa njia ya barua na maofisi ya serkali hapa nchini hufanyika kwa lugha ya Kiswahili kwani ndio lugha ya Taifa. Hata hivyo, mawasiliano na taasisi za kimataifa zilizopo hapa nchini hufanyika kwa Kiingereza".

Communication with outside SUA but within Tanzania is done in Kiswahili in most cases since it (Kiswahili) is the official language in all government offices. However, English may be used when international organisations within Tanzania are involved. The language of communication with outside world is in English. It is important to note here that the Directorate handles all financial commitments to the University from Donor agencies from within Tanzania and outside Tanzania. These include research

funds for different research projects carried out by SUA researchers for and on behalf of the University.

c. Correspondence outside Tanzania.

“Mawasiliano na taasisi za kimataifa au watu binafsi nje ya nchi hufanyika kwa lugha ya Kiingereza tu”.

Correspondence with international agencies, institutions or individuals is done entirely in the medium of the English language.

d. Director as Chairman of various committees in the Directorate

“Lugha rasmi ya vikao hapa chuoni ni Kiingereza. Hata hivyo nimeona kwamba baadhi ya wajumbe huchanganya lugha ya Kiswahili na Kiingereza”.

The major committees of the Directorate are Postgraduate Studies Committee of the Senate and the Research and Publication Committee. The former discusses, approves and recommends to the Senate all matters pertaining to postgraduate studies such as admissions, progress report and award of degrees upon completion of their degree courses in various faculties. As for the Research and Publication, the committee scrutinises all research project applications before submission to various donor agencies for funding. The official language is interaction during meetings of these committees *is English*. According to the Director, members interact in English most of the time during the meetings of these committees. However, it is also a common practice for members *to code-switch/code-mix English and Kiswahili* during the deliberation of various agendas. Reasons for doing so are many - including vocabulary loss for appropriate words/phrases, emphasising a point or simply cracking a joke. The Director feels that most members in the committees are more at ease in using Kiswahili than English.

e. Meeting with students

“Wanafunzi wa shahada za juu hawana matatizo sana ya kujieleza kwa Kiingereza. Hata hivyo mara nyingi hupendelea kuongea kwa Kiswahili ukiacha wanafunzi wa kutoka nje ya Tanzania”

(Meaning: Most of the postgraduate students do not have serious English language problems when compared with the undergraduate students).

The Directorate handles all postgraduate students in collaboration with specific departments which are admitting them. The language of interaction between students and the Director *is English* although they may resort to Kiswahili (apart from non-Tanzania students). However, the language of interaction between the students and the secretaries or other workers in the Directorate, is Kiswahili (except for international students, who cannot speak Kiswahili. (The number of postgraduate students at any one academic year does not exceed one hundred). Students doing postgraduate studies come mainly from Tanzania but there are also a few foreign students. (In the case of undergraduate students, over ninety eight per cent of all students are Tanzanians). There are however, no scheduled meetings between the Director and the postgraduate students.

f. Interaction within the office of the Director

As in almost all offices at SUA, interaction between the Director and other workers in the Directorate *is in Kiswahili*. Thus, giving directive to the secretary or office supervisor is done in Kiswahili. The Director does not give dictation to his secretary. Instead, all work from the desk of the Director for typing by the secretary is hand written by the Director. The secretary copies. Furthermore, there are no facilities such as dictation machine.

g. Director as member of academic staff.

“Lugha rasmi ya kufundishia ni Kiingereza. Mimi hutumia Kiingereza karibu wakati wote nikiwa darasani”.

(Meaning: The official language when teaching is English. I use English most of the time when teaching in the classroom).

As indicated in the case of Dean of Faculties at SUA, Directors are also members of academic staff who teach in their respective departments where they belong as members of academic staff. The Director indicates that he uses English in his Teaching. (*Mimi hutumia Kiingereza karibu wakati wote nikiwa darasani*). He writes his notes and any accompanying teaching/learning materials in English too. Interaction with students outside the classroom is also restricted to English. However, on some occasion, the Director may resort to Kiswahili whenever necessary.

II Awareness of the Language Policy

“Ofisi yangu haina mwongozo wowote wa sera ya lugha au maagizo yoyote kutoka utawala wa chuo kwamba ni lugha zipi zitumike lini na wapi”.

The Director has not seen any document regarding language policy for the University. He is, however, aware of the fact that two languages are in use at the University i.e. the language used in the classroom, which is English and the language for most office interaction, which is Kiswahili. It is therefore taken as a tradition that since the language of secondary education is English, it follows that the language of University education is also English. Similarly, since the official language in government offices in the country is Kiswahili, then it follows that the official language in the offices at SUA is Kiswahili too. The Director however, does not find any conflict between Kiswahili and English in its current usage. On the other hand he agrees that student at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels are not performing effectively in the medium of the English language.

III. Perception of the Problem of using English language as medium of in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

“Wanafunzi wetu wanayo matatizo makubwa sana na lugha ya Kiingereza. Kiwango chao ni cha chini sana kiasi kwamba inaonekana Kiingereza hakifai tena kuwa lugha ya kufundishia hapa nchini”.

According to the Director, currently, students experience a lot of shortcomings in using English as a medium of education. Their level of proficiency, vocabulary, reading and writing skills and their ability to comprehend both written and spoken English is too low. As a result, English has ceased to be a viable medium of education.

IV Director's Personal Opinion

Although the Director acknowledges the fact that current Tanzanian students are having serious problems with the medium of English as language of instruction, he personally feels that the Tanzanian Government would be making a grave mistake if it switched to Kiswahili as medium of education in secondary schools and tertiary institutions. On the contrary, the Government should aspire to introduce English language as medium of education right from kindergarten. The current move by individuals to start private kindergarten/primary where the medium of instruction is English should be encouraged and supported by the government and at the same time the government should emulate the trend set by individuals in starting these English medium schools. The major argument behind the Director's suggestion is technological and economic - at individual level as well as national level. The Director elaborated that at the individual level, the technology of the twenty-first century requires individuals who can communicate with the rest of the world with little difficulties, and this can be achieved through the international lingua franca - which is English. Similarly, for individual and national economic and social development, Tanzania needs an international language of wider communication, which is English according to its historical background. In his own words, the Director had this to say:

"Serkali itakuwa imefanya kosa kubwa sana iwapo Kiswahili kitafanywa kuwa lugha ya kufundishia elimu nchini. Badala yake serkali iangalie uwezekano wa kuimarisha lugha ya Kiingereza kwa kuifanya kuwa lugha rasmi ya elimu kuanzia shule za chekechea. Jitihada zinazofanywa na watu binafsi za kuanzisha shule zinazotumia lugha ya Kiingereza katika ufundishaji hazina budi kuigwa na serkali..."

(Meaning: The government would make a grave mistake to introduce Kiswahili as the medium of secondary and higher education in the country. On the contrary, the government should try to explore possibilities of using English as the medium of instruction at all levels of the education system).

4.4.9 Interview with the Director, Institute of Continuing Education, ICE

Conduct of the Interview

a. Place of the interview

The interview was held in the Director's office.

b. Arrangement of the interview

An appointment was sought by personally visiting the Director in his office a day before the interview.

c. Language of interaction during the interview.

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. Most responses from the Director were also in Kiswahili although there were a few instances of code mixing between Kiswahili and English.

d. Institute's background: Functions and Responsibilities of the ICE

The major function of the Institute of Continuing Education (ICE) is to develop, promote and undertake the provision of adult and continuing education alongside teaching of regularly enrolled students designated to secure the development of various applied sciences and technologies required for the enhancement of rural economy and efficacious solution of the economic and social problems of rural areas of Tanzania. Thus, ICE is charged with responsibilities such as providing short courses, carrying out extension work, provide adult education, farmers' education and extra-mural programmes. Furthermore, ICE is charged with developing and distributing training and extension materials and also providing communication and instructional media services. Last but not least, ICE serves as a link between the

University and government agencies and divisions dealing with extension and farmers' education.

Because of the above functions and responsibilities, the clientele of the ICE include farmers, local community groups, local leaders, trainers, researchers extension personnel, farm managers, and other government functionaries. Most of the clientele are drawn from within Tanzania. However, in certain circumstances, some are drawn from outside Tanzania, particularly the SADC countries. Furthermore, ICE has a close liaison with other University Faculties, Institutes, Departments and other Units and a widespread network with relevant government and non-government organs and institutions. As a result of this, ICE greatly enhances its outreach capability. With this kind of background, one expects the official operational language of the ICE in running its programmes to be Kiswahili.

The Interviewee's Background and Experiences.

Sex Male

Age 47 years

The current ICE Director is a graduate of SUA in his undergraduate and Master's degrees. He did his PhD studies overseas. Prior to joining SUA he worked as a secondary school teacher and a headmaster in several schools in the country. He has therefore broad experiences regarding the language issue in the education system in Tanzania particularly at secondary school level.

I. Language Use

a. Correspondence with other University Departments.

Most correspondence with other University Departments within SUA *is done in English* except where the initial correspondence was in Kiswahili.

b. Correspondence outside SUA but within Tanzania

Correspondence with government offices, institutions and individuals outside SUA but within Tanzania *is done in Kiswahili*, bearing in mind that a most of correspondences involve clientele described above.

c. Correspondence outside Tanzania

Communication with international institutions, agencies and individuals outside Tanzania *is done in English*.

d. Director as Chairman of various committees in the Institute.

“Wakati wa vikao wajumbe hutumia lugha zote mbili - Kiingereza na Kiswahili”.

(Meaning: During meetings, committee members use both English and Kiswahili interchangeably).

The major committee in the Institute is the Board of the ICE. Other committees are mainly organisational committees that organise and run specific courses as the need arises. In the case of the Board meeting, the language of interaction is English. Agenda and minutes of meeting are written in English. Personal experiences of the Director show that deliberations during the meeting are done in English. However, members of committee code-switch/code mix between English and Kiswahili.

e. Meeting with students/clientele

The ICE does not cater for undergraduate and postgraduate students at SUA. Instead the Institute organises short course/seminar/workshop participants as described above. There are therefore no scheduled meetings between the Director and the students. However, participants of the short courses or their representatives to any particular programme may wish to hold a brief meeting with the Director whenever there is a need to do so. Such meetings are conducted entirely in Kiswahili.

f. Interaction within the office of the Director.

Interaction in the office of the Director is entirely in Kiswahili. For example, when the Director issues directives to his secretary or office supervisor, such instructions are entirely in Kiswahili. Furthermore, the Director does not give dictation to his secretary. Most work from the desk of the Director for typing is hand-written by the Director. The secretary copies.

g. Director as member of academic staff.

The Director is basically a member of the academic staff of the University. He may be involved in teaching undergraduate or postgraduate students according to his area of specialisation. The language of classroom interaction is English. However, he may also participate in teaching short courses. The language of interaction in such programmes is determined by the nature and needs of the clientele but is mainly Kiswahili as explained above.

II. Awareness of the Language Policy

“Ofisi yangu haina mwongozo wowote wa sera ya lugha nchini au hapa chuoni. Wateja wetu wengi ni wakulima, viongozi wa vijiji, mabwana/bibi shamba n.k. Hivyo tunatumia lugha ya Taifa kuendeshea kozi zetu”.

(Meaning: My office does not have any language policy directive. Most our clients are peasants, village leaders and extension workers. The Institute therefore tends to use more Kiswahili than English in most of its courses).

The Director of the ICE is not aware the existence of any language policy document in the Institute or directive from the University authorities on what language to use when conducting short courses in the ICE. However, from the background of clienteles as described above, each programme organised and run by the ICE determines the most appropriate language of interaction to be used for that specific programme. Thus, if a programme involves peasants from the villages, the language of *choice is Kiswahili*. According to the Director, most programmes organised by the ICE are normally

conducted in Kiswahili because most of these programmes are mainly tailored towards rural development involving agricultural/livestock/natural resources extension workers who are mainly based in the rural areas of Tanzania.

III. Perception of the problem of using English language as medium of education in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

"Kiwango cha lugha ya Kiingereza cha wanafunzi wengi wa shule za sekondari ni cha chini mno kiasi kwamba wanaobahatika kujiunga na masomo ya chuo kikuu hupata shida sana kufuata masomo yao. Mabibi na Mabwana shamba wetu ni wahitimu wa elimu ya sekondari. Hata hivyo, wengi wao hawaelewi kabisa lugha ya Kiingereza".

(The standard of English of most secondary schools students is appalling and those who get selected for higher education find it most difficult to pursue their studies. Almost all the extension workers are secondary school graduates. They do not understand much English).

As indicated above, the current Director of the ICE had an opportunity to teach in secondary schools where the major crux of the English language problems lies resulting in this debate on the viable medium of instruction in the Tanzanian education system. The Director's personal views and experiences are that students in secondary schools have an appalling standard of English. When such students get into the University, their proficiency in English language is so poor that they cannot follow their education satisfactorily. (*Kiwango cha Kiingereza cha wanafunzi wengi ... ni cha chini mno...*). He further gives experiences of working with rural extension workers who are mainly secondary school graduates with post secondary school training in agriculture/livestock/natural resources. These extension workers, according to the Director, are "illiterate" in English. (*... Wengi wao hawaelewi kabisa lugha ya Kiingereza*). His personal views are that since Kiswahili is the major *lingua franca* in both urban and rural areas, it should be enhanced as a medium of education.

IV. Director's personal opinion

"Serkali imechukua muda mrefu sana kutekeleza mapendekezo ya Tume ya Rais kuhusu mfumo wa elimu hasa kipengere cha kutumia lugha ya Taifa kama lugha rasmi ya kufundishia mashuleni na vyuoni."

(Meaning: The government has taken too long to implement the recommendations of the Presidential Commission on Educational Reforms).

The Director of the ICE was formerly a secondary school headmaster. He has a wide experience in the current politics behind the language issue in Tanzania. He cites the debate that has been going on for a long time regarding the question of medium of instruction in the education system. He argues that the implementation of recommendations made by the Presidential Commission on Reforms of Education in 1982 is long over-due. (*Serkali imechukua muda mrefu sana kutekeleza mapendekezo ya Tume ya Rais kuhusu mfumo wa elimu...*).

4.4.10 Interview with the Director, Sokoine National Agricultural Library (SNAL).

Conduct of the Interview

a. Place of interview

The interview was held in the Director's office. Coffee was provided while the interview was being held.

b. Arrangement of the interview

An earlier appointment was sought with the Director to arrange for a convenient day and time of the interview a day before.

c. Language of interaction during the interview.

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. The responses were also in Kiswahili. Very few instances of code mixing between Kiswahili and English were noted.

Background: SNAL as a National Agricultural Library

Sokoine National Agricultural Library (SNAL) is located on SUA Main campus. It is the single largest agricultural library in Tanzania. It also has a publishing unit. SNAL is a legal depository for agricultural publications published within Tanzania. SNAL also collects similar materials published elsewhere about Tanzania and the agricultural community worldwide. It is a depository for publications from United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation and of all unpublished theses of the University. SNAL's resources are not only open to members of the University community but also to other people engaged in research on various government and non-government projects in the country and scholars all over the world. Most of the library operations are still manual. However, computerisation process in a modest way, has just begun whereby the manual catalogue is being converted into an electronic one for the future library On-line Public Access Catalogue (OPAC).

The Interviewee's background and Experiences.

Sex Male

Age 56 years

SNAL's organisational chart shows that it has a director at the apex. The current Director is one the longest serving members in the SNAL. He has been at SUA since SUA was a mere Faculty. He obtained his undergraduate qualifications within Tanzania, and also attended courses in library management and administration abroad.

I. Language Use

a. Correspondence with other University Departments.

Mawasiliano yoyote ya barua kati ya ofisi ya Mkurugenzi wa Maktaba na vitivo/idara zozote hapa chuoni hufanyika kwa lugha ya Kiingereza".

Most correspondence with other departments within SUA is done in English. This includes recall notices etc. to borrowers of library materials.

b. Correspondence outside SUA but within Tanzania

Correspondence with outside SUA but within Tanzania to government offices, individuals or other institutions or libraries is mainly in Kiswahili, the government official language. However, if initial communication were in English, the Director's office would respond in English.

c. Correspondence outside SUA and outside Tanzania

Correspondence with international organisations outside Tanzania is done entirely in English.

d. Visitors outside SUA

Interaction with visitors to the library from outside SUA would be in Kiswahili if such visitors were Tanzanians. However, if the visitors were from outside Tanzania, the language of interaction would be English.

e. Director as chairman of various library committees.

The major committee of the library is the Library Board, which is chaired by the Director. The agenda and minutes of Board meetings are in English. Deliberation is held in English during the Board meeting. However, according to the Director, most discussion is carried out in both English and Kiswahili.

c. Meeting with Students

Wanafunzi wanapokuja kuniona kuhusu swala lolote lile hupendelea kuzungumza kwa Kiswahili”.

There are no regular scheduled meetings between students or student representative and the Director. However, students or student representatives are free to meet and discuss any issue with the Director when and if need arises. Interaction during such meetings is normally in Kiswahili.

II. Awareness of the Language Policy.

The current Director of SNAL is not aware of any language policy document existing in the library instructing him or other library staff what language to use, when and where. Most of the operations in the library however, are done in Kiswahili. This includes interaction when library clients borrow or return books.

III. Perception of the problem of using English language as medium of education in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

The Director of SNAL is of the opinion that *English language should be enhanced in the education system right from primary to tertiary level*. He cites the technological advancement as requiring a medium, which is familiar with such technology. However, he also emphasises strengthening of Kiswahili especially by having agricultural science materials available in Kiswahili so that, peasants could access them.

IV Director's Personal opinion regarding the use of the English language as medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

The Director of the SNAL feels that English language is one of the major languages in the world. The government must now make an effort to come out with a clear language policy on what language to use as medium of instruction in secondary schools and in the institutions of higher learning in the country. In his opinion, Kiswahili could be used as medium of instruction. However, he also suggests that ways must be found to improve the standard of English as a subject. He further suggests that at least two more foreign languages should be included in the school subjects.

4.4.11 Interview with the Director, Development Studies Institute, DSI.

Conduct of the Interview

a. Place of interview

The interview was held in the Director's office.

b. Arrangement of the interview.

An appointment was sought by personally visiting the in his office a day before the interview.

c. Language of interaction during the interview.

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. Most responses from the Director were also in Kiswahili. There were however few instances of code mixing and code switching between Kiswahili and English.

Interviewee's Background and Experiences.

Sex Male

Age 52 years

The current Director of the DSI obtained his first degree from the University of Dar es Salaam. He did his postgraduate studies up to PhD in Germany where his studies were conducted entirely in German language. Prior to going abroad for further studies he worked for the ruling party (CCM). His past experiences are as former party worker, are useful to this study.

I. Language Use

a. Correspondence with other University Departments.

Most correspondence with other Departments within SUA is done in English except where the initial correspondence was in Kiswahili.

b. Correspondence outside SUA but within Tanzania.

Correspondence with government offices, institutions and individuals within Tanzania is done in Kiswahili except where the initial correspondence was in English.

c. Correspondence outside Tanzania.

Communication with international institutions, agencies and individuals outside Tanzania is done in English.

d. Director as chairman of various committees in the Institute.

Wakati wa vikao vya Bodi, wajumbe wanategemewa kutumia lugha ya Kiingereza kama lugha ya majadiliaano. Hata hivyo wajumbe hutumia lugha zote mbili, yaani Kiingereza na Kiswahili.

(Meaning: During Board meetings, members are expected to use English in the discussion. However, most members tend to use both Kiswahili and English interchangeably).

The major committees in the Institute are the Examiners' Board and the DSI Board. According to the Director's personal experience as Chairman of both Boards, the language of interaction during meetings of these boards is supposed to be English. However his experiences show that both Kiswahili and English are used interchangeably.

e. Meeting with students/student representatives.

The language of interaction during a meeting with students or student representatives is expected to be in English. However, experience shows that such meetings may initially begin in English but the ensuing discussion is done entirely in Kiswahili.

f. Interaction within the Office of the Director.

Interaction in the office of the Director is entirely done in Kiswahili. Thus, any instructions from the Director to his secretary or other employees in the office are

given in Kiswahili. The Director does not give dictation to his secretary. All work from the Director's office that has to be typed is hand-written by the Director.

g. Director as member of academic staff.

The Director, as is the case of all Deans/Directors at SUA, is essentially a member of academic staff. He is therefore involved in teaching both undergraduate as well as postgraduate students. The language of interaction during teaching is English. According to the Director however, he sometimes elaborates facts or ideas in Kiswahili both within the lecture room or when outside.

II Awareness of the Language Policy.

Ofisi yangu haina maelekezo yoyote kuhusu sera ya lugha hapa chuoni.

The Director is not aware of the existence of any language policy document in the University - (*Ofisi yangu haina maelekezo yoyote kuhusu sera ya lugha hapa chuoni*). However, he is aware of the fact that in 1962, there was a government directive that the National and the Official language in the country would be Kiswahili.

III Perception of the problem of using English language as medium of education in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

According to the Director of the DSI, the problem of English language as medium of education in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania, does exist to the extent that it affects the quality of education. (*Tatizo la kutumia lugha ya Kiingereza kama lugha ya kufundishia katika vyuo vikuu na taasisi za elimu ya chuo hapa nchini lipo na linaathiri ubora wa elimu....*). He cites the poor proficiency of the students at SUA as living example. He therefore suggests that the government should make efforts to improve the quality of education by taking into consideration the question of the medium of instruction. Thus, if the government insists on using English as medium of instruction, then there must be concerted efforts to use it as an official language so that people could see the relevance of using it as a medium of education. This is what

he had to say regarding English as **medium of education in secondary schools and higher learning institutions:**

Tatizo la kutumia lugha ya Kiingereza kama lugha ya kufundishia katika vyuo vikuu na taasisi za elimu ya juu nchini lipo na linaathiri ubora wa elimu. Ingefaa Serikali ifanye uamuzi wa kuboresha elimu nchini ikizingatia pia tatizo la lugha rasmi ya kufundishia.

(Meaning: There a problem in using English as medium of education at the university and other institutions of higher learning in the country and is affecting the quality of education. Government must make concerted effort to improve the quality of education, among other things, by making a firm decision on what medium to use).

IV Director's personal opinion regarding the use of the English language as medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

The Director is of the opinion that current standard of English language proficiency among Tanzanian learners in the institutions of higher learning is not satisfactory. Efforts to redress this problem in secondary schools seem to have failed. (He cites the ELTSP, which he is aware of). He also cites the reasons that lead to the establishment of the communications skills unit at SUA in 1988 which he believes has also failed to improve the standard of the English language proficiency of students at SUA. In his opinion therefore, a shift to Kiswahili is more desirable unless English is made the official language in government offices.

As pointed out earlier, the Director of DSI previously worked with the ruling Party prior to going abroad for his PhD studies. During the period he worked with the party, he asserts that the Party policy on medium of education in particular, aimed at making education accessible to all and meaningful to the kind of society envisaged in the Party ideology (i.e. a making Tanzania a socialist and self reliant state). It was therefore a firm belief of the Party that Kiswahili was the appropriate medium to achieve this goal.

4.4.12 Interview with Head, Department of Personnel and Administrative Staff

Conduct of the interview

a. Place of interview.

The interview was held in the office of the Head of Department.

b. Arrangement of interview

An appointment was sought by visiting the Head in his office two days prior to the interview day.

c. Language of interaction during the interview.

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. Most of the responses were also in Kiswahili. There were very few instances of code - mixing or code - switching between Kiswahili and English as observed when interviewing Deans and Directors.

Background.

The staff at SUA can be grouped into two major categories: the academic staff and the administrative staff. As indicated earlier, the academic staff fall under the DVC's office while the administrative staff fall under the office of the Registrar who is assisted by Head of Department of Personnel and Administrative staff. The latter category of staff at SUA use Kiswahili, the official language in the country in their day-to-day duties.

Interviewee's Background and Experiences.

Sex Male

Age 46 years

The current Head of the Department of Personnel and Administrative staff holds a Masters' degree in Public Administration, which he obtained abroad. He has worked in another institution of higher learning in the same capacity before joining SUA.

I. Language Use

a. Correspondence to other University Departments

Correspondence with other Departments within SUA is done in both English in Kiswahili. This depends very much on the nature of the persons involved. If the correspondence is intended for non-academic member of staff, Kiswahili is used in the correspondence. With regards to members of academic staff, either English or Kiswahili is used depending on the initial correspondence. It is also important to note here that the Head of the Department of Personnel and Administrative Staff normally acts on behalf of the Registrar. Experience shows that while he may draft a correspondence, it is normally the Registrar who signs or he may sign on behalf of the Registrar.

b. Correspondence outside SUA but within Tanzania.

Correspondence with government offices, institutions and individuals outside SUA but within Tanzania is done in Kiswahili.

c. Head of Department as Recorder of the Administrative Recruitment and Development Committee.

The Head of the Personnel and Administrative Staff does not chair meetings. However, he is the recorder of Administrative Personnel committee, which is chaired by the Registrar. As discussed earlier, meetings of this committee are run in both English and Kiswahili.

d. Interaction within the office of the Head of Department.

Interaction in the office of the Head of Department is done entirely in Kiswahili.

II Awareness of the Language Policy.

The Head of Department of Personnel and Administrative staff is not aware of any language policy document existing in the University. He assumes that both English and Kiswahili are the official languages of the University because this is what he found when he was employed at SUA for the first time. He is however, aware that the

government directive is that government offices outside SUA use Kiswahili as the official language.

III Perception of the problem of use of the English language as medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

Wanafunzi wa Kitanzania hawafahamu vizuri lugha ya Kiingereza. Kwa mfano watu wanaotuma maombi ya kazi hapa Chuoni hupendelea kuandika kwa Kiswahili. Wale ambao huandika kwa Kiingereza, barua zao zinaonyesha wazi kwamba wengi hawaijui vizuri lugha ya Kiingereza.

(Meaning: Most Tanzanian students do not understand English properly. For example, when they apply for jobs in the University, they prefer to apply in Kiswahili. Those who attempt to write in English show clearly that they are not competent enough).

Although the Head of the Department of Personnel and Administrative staff is not a member of academic staff, he feels that Tanzanian students face big problems in using English. He cites his experiences when he receives applications from prospective candidates for various posts in the university. According to the Head applicants who write in English often show that they are not competent in the language.

IV Personal opinion of the Head of the Department of Personnel and Administrative regarding the use of the English language as medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

The Head of the Department is of the opinion that unless English language is made the official language to be used in all official transactions, there will be no motivation to learn it properly. Many students in the institutions of higher learning are forced to use it in their studies. However, they do not use it when employed except in very limited situations such as when employed in foreign organisations or agencies, or in the

institutions of higher education, which may use both English and Kiswahili in their day to day official transactions.

4.5 Public Lecture: Sokoine Memorial Lecture (organised by Development Studies Institute): Guest Speaker: Minister for State, President's, Hon. E. Lowassa.

To commemorate the death of the former Prime Minister, the late Edward Moringe Sokoine, (from whom SUA acquired its name), every year SUA holds a public lecture. Arrangements are made each year to invite a known public figure or politician to address the SUA community on this occasion. Members of staff (academic and non-academic) and students are invited.

It was noted that the paper whose theme was on "poverty eradication in Tanzania" was written and presented in **English**. However, in the course of presentation, Kiswahili was used to elaborate things. As indicated above, that both academic and non-academic members of staff are invited to attend this public lecture, it was noted that the participants were mainly academic staff and students. The reason for low participation of the non-academic members was thought to be due to the fact that English language was used in the presentation. Majority of the non-academic members of staff are not competent enough to follow a presentation made in English.

4.6.0 Interviews with people from outside Sokoine University of Agriculture

As pointed out earlier, apart from gathering important information from SUA, the study also involved key people outside SUA, especially those in the key policy formulation sections such as the Ministry of education and Culture (MoEC) (see 4.0 above). The following is the report of the data collected from such people.

4.6.1 Interview with the Commissioner of Education, Ministry of Education and Culture, Tanzania

Conduct of interview.

a. Place of interview.

The interview was held in the Commissioner's office. The interview was also attended by one of assistants to the commissioner responsible for the English Language Teaching Support Project (ELTSP).

b. Arrangement of interview.

The Commissioner of Education had been in constant contact with me through emails for a long time while I was at Aston. Tentative dates for the interview were proposed through email before leaving Aston for Tanzania. Secondly, a letter of introduction was obtained from the Vice Chancellor of Sokoine University of Agriculture (see Annex 9).

c. Language of interaction during the interview.

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. The responses were in Kiswahili too with very few instances of code-switching/code-mixing between Kiswahili and English.

Interviewee's Background and Experiences.

Sex Male

Age 54 years

The current Commissioner of Education has a long history in the education system. He has worked as a secondary school teacher, a secondary school headmaster, Director of secondary education prior to his appointment as Commissioner of Education in the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC).

I Language Use: Official language of interaction within government offices.

The situation in government offices is quite different from what has been presented so far regarding language use at SUA. While at SUA both Kiswahili and English are used, the official language in all government offices is Kiswahili only. All correspondence within Tanzania is done entirely in Kiswahili. However,

communication with foreign visitors is conducted in English. Likewise, international correspondence is done in English. According to the Commissioner, the Government made full implementation of Kiswahilization as official language in all its offices in 1965. He had this to say:

“Sera ya Lugha maofisini inaeleweka. Serkali ilitoa tamko kwamba Kiswahili ndio lugha rasmi na lugha ya Taifa toka mwaka wa 1962. Tamko hili lilisisitizwa mwaka 1965 wakati Serikali ilipoagiza kwamba Kiswahili ndiyo lugha rasmi ya maofisi yote ya serkali na mashirika yake”.

(Meaning: The government policy on what language to use in government offices is clear. The government gave made a decision in 1962 that Kiswahili is the official and national language in Tanzania. This was followed by Government directive in 1965, which emphasised that **Kiswahili only** be used in all government offices).

II Awareness of the Language Policy

The commissioner is aware of the language situation in Tanzania. For example, he is aware of the fact the National and Official language in Tanzania is Kiswahili. He is also aware of the language of instruction in primary schools and secondary schools in the country to be Kiswahili and English respectively. However, he is not aware of a specific policy document regarding the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning. It follows that since the medium of instruction in secondary schools is English, then the medium of education in the institutions of higher learning will be English too.

III Perception of the problem of use of the English language as medium of education in institutions of higher learning.

According to the Commissioner of Education, the problem of English language as medium of instruction in secondary schools and institutions of higher learning in the country has been top on the agenda for a long time. He cites the *1997 Cultural Policy* as Government efforts to Kiswahilize the medium of education in the country. However, the Commissioner is of the opinion that there has been a tacit agreement by some responsible officers not to implement recommendations of various bodies

including those of the Presidential Commission of Educational Reforms of 1982. Certainly this accords with the views of the senior academics in Sokoine that are against Swahilisation for most part. The same responsible people have been thwarting government efforts to Kiswahilize the medium of education in one way or another. For example he pointed cases whereby top Government officials send their children to neighbouring countries where the medium of education is English. And more recently, private English medium primary schools have been mushrooming in the country. (These are popularly known as *academies* in Tanzania). They (*Academies*) are based on the models of primary schools in these neighbouring countries and use the same textbooks as those in use in these neighbouring countries. It is interesting to note that businessmen in partnership with some Government officials own some of these *academies* (see Annex 3 and Annex 13).

Tatizo la kutumia Kiingereza kama lugha ya kufundishia linaeleweka katika ngazi mbalimbali. Hata hivyo, serkali bado haijatoa tamko rasmi licha ya mapendekezo ya tume mbalimbali ya kukifanya Kiswahili kuwa lugha rasmi ya kufundishia katika shule za sekondari na hata katika taasisi za elimu ya juu nchini.

(Meaning: The problem of English as the medium of education in Tanzania is known at all levels in the government circles. We are waiting for the government to announce the implementation of the Swahilisation of the medium of education)

IV Personal Opinion of the Commissioner of Education concerning language policy in Tanzania.

According to the Commissioner, MoEC was only awaiting the final Government directive to implement the 1997 *Cultural Policy*. This is what he had to say:

“Tusubiri tamko rasmi la serkali kwani swala hili lipo katika ngazi ya Baraza la Mawaziri na tunategemea tamko hilo wakati wowote kuanzia sasa”

(Meaning: This matter is being discussed at the Cabinet level).

The Commissioner of Education was reluctant to discuss further the issue of the implementation of the *1997 Cultural Policy*. Instead he suggested we await the government final decision on the promotion of Kiswahili to be medium of instruction instead of the English language as per *1997 Cultural policy* since the matter was at the Cabinet level awaiting final decision.

4.6.2 Interview with the Commissioner of Culture, Ministry of Education and Culture, Tanzania

Conduct of the Interview

a. Place of the interview

The interview was held in the Commissioner's office. Also present during the interview was Director of Arts and Language and retired former Director of Arts and Language.

b. Arrangement of the interview.

A letter was obtained from the VC, SUA and also from the Commissioner of Education introducing me to the Commissioner of Culture (see **Annex 9**). An appointment to see the Director for the interview was made two days before.

c. Language of interaction during the interview

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. The responses from the Director and the others present during the interview were also in Kiswahili. There were very few instances of code mixing between Kiswahili and English.

Interviewees background and experiences.

Sex Male

Age 51 years

The Commissioner of Culture has worked in the Directorate of Culture for over twenty years. He did his studies both within Tanzania and outside Tanzania. Similarly the Director of Arts and Language and the retired Director of Arts and Language did their studies in Tanzania and also outside Tanzania.

I Language Use

The language of transactions in all government offices in Tanzania is Kiswahili except where international transactions are involved. All correspondence to other government offices, agencies or individuals is carried out in Kiswahili. Correspondence outside Tanzania however, is done in English.

II Awareness of the Language Policy

Sera ya lugha nchini Tanzania inaeleweka. Kiswahili ni lugha rasmi maofisini na pia ndiyo ya Taifa. Kwa sasa Kiingereza ndiyo lugha ya kufundishia katika shule za sekondari na taasisi za elimu ya juu.

(Meaning: The government language policy is clear: Kiswahili is the official language used in all government offices. At the moment, English is the medium of secondary and higher education).

The Commissioner of Culture is aware of the existing language policy in the country. That is, Kiswahili is the official and the National language of Tanzania. That English is currently the medium of instruction in secondary schools and institutions of higher learning. However, although he has seen policy documents regarding English as medium of instruction in secondary schools, he is not aware of any policy document indicating what language of instruction to be used in the institutions of higher learning. It is only assumed that since the medium of instruction in secondary schools is English,

then it follows that the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania is English too.

III. Perception of the problem of using English language as medium of instruction in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

The Commissioner is aware of the fact that the proficiency in the English language of the Tanzanian students at all levels of education is very low. He agrees with most of previous classroom research findings by both local and international researchers such as Criper and Dodd's report of 1984. He feels Tanzanian students do not benefit fully from their studies because English acts as a barrier to acquisition of knowledge and skills as shown by these previous studies. He wonders why the government is taking so long to implement recommendations of the local researchers and *1997 Cultural Policy*. This is what he had to say:

Kiwango cha Kiingereza cha wanafunzi wa Kitanzania katika ngazi mbalimbali za elimu nchini ni duni sana kama tafiti mbalimbali zikiwepo za wataalamu kutoka nje ya nchi zinavyoonyesha. Nami nakubaliana na matokeo ya tafiti hizo.

(Meaning: English language proficiency of Tanzanian students at all levels of education is low as has been shown by studies carried out by both local and international experts).

IV Commissioner's Personal opinion regarding the use of the English language as medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania

According to the Commissioner, at this stage all Tanzanians need full independence politically, economically, socially, and culturally so that we live in a better world. For example, he urged that Tanzanians should be able to write educational books and other learning materials in Kiswahili instead of translating books that are in most cases unsuitable to Tanzania's environment. He also pointed out that previous efforts to

bolster English as recommended in Criper and Dodd's report, through the ELTSP should have been directed to raise Kiswahili to the status of medium of instruction in secondary schools and in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania. According to the Commissioner of Culture, the material conditions in Tanzania demand the use of Kiswahili as medium of education. This is what he had to say:

Kiingereza kama lugha ya kufundishia nchini Tanzania kimepitwa na wakati. Lugha rasmi ya kiofisi na lugha yetu ya Taifa ni Kiswahili. Wahitimu wetu kutoka Taasisi za elimu ya juu wanaofundishwa kwa Kiingereza hawatakitumia Kiingereza katika kazi zao za kila siku.

(Meaning: English as the medium of education in Tanzania is no longer viable. The language being used in offices is Kiswahili. Graduates from higher learning institutions where currently the medium is English do not use it in their day to day activities).

The Commissioner was also sceptical about the current private television stations in Tanzania, which are currently used as channels for viewing international television networks such as the BBC, Sky Television, DW, CNN and some stations, which transmit in Arabic to a greater extent than the local programmes⁶⁴ (see **Annex 14**). These international television networks use English, German and Arabic. However, speakers of these languages are insignificant in number in Tanzania. So the basic question is whose interest these television stations serve in Tanzania? He equally criticised SUA terrestrial TV station because it transmits programmes of the international television network mentioned above. He pointed out that the few programmes on agricultural and livestock development or on environmental issues were mainly of foreign nature and irrelevant to the Tanzanian rural areas and most of them were in English. (SUA has trained technicians in audio-visual skills to film and

⁶⁴ Television is a recent phenomenon in Tanzania and found in major towns only. Private businessmen mainly own them. On the other hand, the National Television which has just been inaugurated, can hardly be viewed a short distance from Dar es Salaam, where the studio is located

record TV programmes but they are currently being under-utilised since there is very little effort put to use local programmes).

4.6.3 Interview with Director, Tanzania Institute of Education

Conduct of interview

a. Place of interview

The interview was held in the Director's office in Dar es Salaam.

b. Arrangement of the interview

A letter of introduction to the Director was obtained from the Vice Chancellor, SUA (see **Annex 9**). An appointment was sought a week prior to the interview day by visiting the office of the Tanzania Institute of Education in Dar es Salaam.

c. Language of interaction during the interview

The interview was conducted in Kiswahili. Responses from the Director were mainly in Kiswahili. However, there were a few instances of code mixing and code switching between Kiswahili and English.

Interviewee's background

Sex Male

Age 50 years

The current Director of TIE has previously worked as secondary school teacher, an inspector of education in MoEC prior to joining TIE as curriculum developer. He is graduate of UDSM and has attended postgraduate studies abroad.

Background to the Tanzania Institute of Education and its function

TIE was formerly the Institute of Curriculum Development within the MoEC. It was later elevated to its current status. Its functions include preparing teaching and learning materials for primary schools, secondary schools and teachers' training colleges in the country. It also reviews curricular for the same institutions. It is,

however, not responsible for specialised learning institutions in the country such as MATIs/LITIs, medical training institutions, finance and public administration institutions or institutions of higher learning. At the moment, it also has no control over the newly cropping up English-medium kindergarten/primary schools.

I Language Use

a. Correspondence with other departments/institutions in the country

According to the Director of TIE, all official correspondence with other departments or institutions in the country is entirely in the medium of Kiswahili as required by the country's policy on the use of the official language in government offices. All correspondence with international institutions outside Tanzania however, is done in English.

b. Language of interaction during meetings.

As in the case in **a** above, the official language of interaction during any official meeting is also in Kiswahili. Similarly, visitors to the office of the Director also interact in Kiswahili unless such visitors are from outside Tanzania and cannot communicate in Kiswahili.

II Awareness of the Language policy

Lugha rasmi na pia lugha ya Taifa nchini ni Kiswahili. Huu ndio mwongozo wa serkali uliotolewa toka mwaka wa 1965. Kiingereza ni somo katika shule za msingi na ni lugha ya kufundishia elimu ya sekondari na taasisi za elimu ya juu.

(Meaning: The official language used in government offices is Kiswahili as per government directive of 1965. Currently English is taught as a subject in primary schools and is used as the medium of secondary and higher education).

III Perception of the problem of the English language as the medium of education in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania

Mwongozo wa serkali kukifanya Kiswahili kuwa lugha rasmi na lugha ya Taifa kuifanya lugha ya Kiingereza ipoteze hadhi yake nchini Tanzania na kuifanya kuwa lugha ya kigeni kwa vile lugha ya Kiingereza haitumiwi na sehemu kubwa ya jamii ya Tanzania.

According to the Director of TIE, the government directive of 1965 to make Kiswahili the official and the national language relegated English to the status of a foreign language in Tanzania. Despite continued effort by the Government to make it the medium of education particularly at secondary and higher education level is a self-defeating argument. This is due to the fact that the use of the English language in Tanzania is limited to a very few domains. As a result there are no motivations to learn it actively. Thus, the standard of the English language among most Tanzanian learners is far below particularly in secondary schools and universities where it is currently the official medium of instruction.

IV Director's personal opinion regarding the use of English as the medium of education in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

Serkali imechukua muda mrefu sana kufikia uamuzi wa kukifanya Kiswahili kuwa lugha rasmi ya kufundishia mashuleni na vyuoni. Athari za kuchelewa huku ni nyingi ikiwa ni pamoja nakutoipatia Kiswahili nafasi na hadhi inayostahili kama lugha ya Taifa katika maendeleo ya sayansi na teknolojia na jamii kwa ujumla.

The Director of TIE feels that the government has taken a long time to reach a decision to shift Kiswahili as the medium of education in schools and colleges.

According to his personal experiences as a secondary school teacher, an inspector of education and a curriculum developer, the Director of TIE is the opinion that knowledge of foreign language is important to Tanzanians. However, to make a foreign language as the medium of education in the country's education system has more negative consequences for the status of the country's official and national language as in the case of Kiswahili. He specifically sees the continued use of the English language as detrimental to the expansion and development of Kiswahili as one

of the major languages in the world of science and technology. Referring to the **1997 Cultural Policy**, the Director hopes that this time, the Government would be more serious in implementing its policy statements. He therefore hopes to see more positive directives and guidelines in shifting to Kiswahili as the medium of education. He also hopes to see more foreign languages being introduced into the school curriculum so as to give opportunities to people who would like to learn them for specific needs.

V On the question of mushrooming of private English-medium kindergarten/primary schools (*academies*) in Tanzania.

According to Director of TIE, the mushrooming of English-medium kindergarten/primary schools in Tanzania is a result of the government's insistence on continuing to use English as the medium of instruction in secondary schools and universities. At the same time, however, the results are appalling, partly because of the language factor. Thus, the mushrooming of the English-medium kindergarten/primary schools is a reaction to the failure of the education system in the society. "*Haya ni matokeo ya kushindwa kwa mfumo wa elimu katika jami'i*". The mushrooming of the *academies* is partly due to the liberalisation and reforms currently sweeping many social and economic sectors in Tanzania. Currently, TIE has no control over the curricular in use in these *academies*. Most of them use teaching and learning materials such as textbooks in use in the primary schools of the neighbouring countries, particularly Kenya and Uganda. However, the Director feels that there is a need for the Government to control the activities in these *academies*. TIE is recommending that books currently in use in public primary schools in Tanzania be translated to English for use in the *academies* so that content of the curricular is similar both in the *academies* and in the public schools.

4.6.4 Interview with the Chairman, National Kiswahili Council of Tanzania (*Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa*) BAKITA

Conduct of the Interview

a. Conduct of the interview

The interview was held in the Chairman's office in Dar es Salaam.

b. Arrangement of Interview

A letter of introduction to the Chairman of *BAKITA* was obtained from the VC, SUA. An appointment to hold the interview was sought one week before the date of the interview by an earlier visit to *BAKITA* office. A resume of the interview was given to the Chairman when the appointment was being sought.

c. Language of interaction during the interview

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. The responses were also in Kiswahili most of the time. In fact only a very few instances of code mixing/code switching were noted during the entire interview.

Background to *BAKITA*

BAKITA is a government body charged with major task of endorsing newly coined Kiswahili words, phrases and terminology. The latter is the major task of the Institute of Kiswahili Research (*Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili TUKI*) which is based at the University of Dar es Salaam.

Interviewee's Background

Sex Male

Age 54

The current Chairman of *BAKITA* is also a Professor in the Institute of Kiswahili Research. He is among the first graduate from UDSM whose major subject was Kiswahili. He has been one of the key people in fighting for the proposal to use Kiswahili as the medium of education in Tanzania.

I Language Use

BAKITA uses Kiswahili in its communication to institutions and individuals in the country. English is used only for international correspondence or when interacting with visitors from outside the country who cannot communicate in Kiswahili.

II Awareness of the Language Policy

The Chairman of *BAKITA* is aware of the language policy in the country. He is therefore aware of the long history of the struggle to make Kiswahili, Tanzania's National and Official language and later struggles to make it the medium of the country's education. He cites several language policy statements since 1962 to that effect. He also cites the recommendations made in the Makwetta's report on educational reforms in Tanzania in which among other things, was the recommendation to change the medium of education at all tiers to Kiswahili.

III Perception of the problem of the English language as the medium of education in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania

Wanafunzi nchini Tanzania hawanufaiki sana kielimu kwa sababu lugha ya Kiingereza ni kikwazo kwao. Vile vile kuendelea kutumia lugha ya Kiingereza kama lugha ya kufundishia kunadumaza kukua kwa lugha ya Kiswahili.

(Meaning: Tanzanian students do not benefit fully academically because their low competence in the English language).

According to the Chairman of *BAKITA*, the continued use of English as the medium of education in the Tanzanian education system has the following effects: first, students do not benefit fully academically because of the language barrier. Second, he thinks that the continued use of English as the medium of education retards the growth of the Kiswahili language. "... *wanafunzi hawanufaiki sana kielimu kwa sababu lugha ya Kiingereza ni kikwazo kwao ... kuendelea kutumia Kiingereza kama lugha ya kufundishia kunadumaza kukua kwa lugha ya Kiswahili*".

IV Personal opinion regarding the use of the English language as the medium of education in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania

According to the Chairman of *BAKITA*, *TUKI* has already done a commendable task of laying foundations for shift to Kiswahili as the medium of education as recommended by the Makwetta Commission. For example, most of the textbooks in use in Tanzanian secondary schools have already been translated into Kiswahili but due to Government indecision, none of the work has been published. The major reason given by the government is that there are no funds to do the job. However, if the Government were serious on this matter, money used in the ELTSP could have done the job. But because two languages are at the centre of the conflict, English took the upper hand. The Director comments that unfortunately, ELTSP has proved a failure because the standard of English among students joining institutions of higher learning has not improved. His personal opinion is that the only way out of this predicament is to take a bold step to make Kiswahili the medium of education in Tanzania.

V On the question of mushrooming of the English-medium kindergarten/primary schools in urban areas in Tanzania

The Chairman is of the opinion that the so-called English-medium kindergarten/primary schools (*academies*) are mainly business ventures of very clever and rich business community in Tanzania. He feels that majority of these schools do not qualify to be called English-medium schools. It is therefore more of business and enriching oneself.

4.6.5 Interview with the Director, Institute of Kiswahili Research (*Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili, TUKI*), University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Conduct of the Interview

a. Place of interview

The interview was held in the office of the Director, in the Kiswahili Building, at the University of Dar es Salaam.

b. Arrangement of the interview

A letter of introduction was obtained from the VC, SUA, as this is the procedure for academicians/researchers from SUA to carry out a research outside SUA. The Director was contacted by visiting him personally one week prior to the interview date to arrange for an appointment for the interview.

c. Language of interaction during the interview

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. Responses from the Director were also in Kiswahili. Very few instances of code mixing between Kiswahili and English were noted.

Interviewee's background

Sex Male

Age 47 years

The current Director of TUKI has been in the saddle for four years. He did his undergraduate and postgraduate studies in the then USSR where his major focus was on translation and philology.

Background to the Institute of Kiswahili Research

The Institute of Kiswahili Research (*TUKI*) is seventy years old today. It started as Swahili Committee of East Africa in 1930. Its history goes back to 1925 when the British Colonial Governors of the East African Countries (Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika) met to discuss educational matters for the East African colonies. Among many things discussed was the possibility of making Kiswahili the medium of instruction in schools in the three countries. The major task of the Swahili Committee therefore was to develop Kiswahili with focus on creating new Kiswahili words and writing of a Kiswahili dictionary. This task was successfully done under the supervision of F. Johnson. Sheldon Press published the first edition in 1935 (Mulokozi and Massamba, 1984).

After the three East African Countries became independent (1961 – 1963), the Swahili Committee of East Africa was disbanded. In the Tanzania the task of the Committee was undertaken by the newly formed Institute of Kiswahili Research (*Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili*). In 1969 *TUKI* became part of the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) (Mulokozi and Massamba, op.cit.). *TUKI* has been involved in many activities to modernise Kiswahili by coining new Kiswahili words, translating textbooks as recommended in the Makwetta Commission's Report. Furthermore, it has successfully produced a new standard Kiswahili Dictionary recently (*Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu*).

I Language Use

According to the Director, the official language of interaction at *TUKI* is Kiswahili. Official correspondence to other departments/faculties within UDSM is done in Kiswahili. However, where *TUKI* members of staff are involved in teaching Kiswahili in the Department of Kiswahili, correspondence on academic matters is done in English. *TUKI*'s policy however, on language use in its internal communication or communication with non-academic institutions, is to use Kiswahili as far as possible. Thus all meetings of various committees/departments within *TUKI* are conducted in Kiswahili.

II Awareness of Language Policy

The Director is aware of Government language policy that Kiswahili is the National and Official language in Tanzania. He is also aware of various Government statements of intent to make Kiswahili to be the medium of education at all levels. Furthermore, he is aware of the *Education and Training Policy* of 1993 and 1995 in which the media of instruction are categorically stated as Kiswahili for primary schools and teachers' training colleges, and English for secondary schools. He is also aware of the *1997 Cultural Policy*.

III Perception of the problem of the English language as the medium of education in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania

Wanafunzi wanaojiunga na masomo katika taasisi za elimu ya juu nchini wana kiwango cha chini sana cha lugha ya Kiingereza kuwawezesha kufuata masomo yao kikamilifu.

According to the Director of TUKI, students who make their way into the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania show too low proficiency in English to enable them follow their studies successfully. "... *Wanafunzi ... wana kiwango cha chini sana cha lugha ya Kiingereza kuwawezesha kufuata masomo yao kikamilifu*". Director's personal experience as a lecturer shows that the problem of low proficiency has been creeping in the education system very slowly over the years. Furthermore, he feels that the problem starts right from primary schools upwards into tertiary education. There are many factors contributing to this state of affair. According to the Director, the major factor is that there is very little or no use of the English language outside the classroom. In the rural areas, people speak their vernaculars as the main language of daily interaction and Kiswahili as the *lingua franca* at places as at the health centre, in schools and village offices and at the market place or in other communal activities. In urban centres where the population consists of people from different ethnic group groups from different parts of the country, Kiswahili is the main language of choice in almost all situations. Vernaculars may be used in the home or in social places when two or more people from the same ethnic group interact. Even at social places like at the University of Dar es Salaam Staff Assembly (UDASA) club, the language of choice is Kiswahili with a bit of code mixing and code switching between Kiswahili and English. Sometimes code mixing may occur between English, Kiswahili and local vernaculars if those engaged in the interaction come from the same ethnic group.

In a nutshell therefore, the Directors sees the problem of low proficiency in the English language is due to the fact there are no compelling circumstances to make students to learn English in schools rigorously and there is little opportunity to for use outside the classroom. The matter is worsened in the lower levels of education because hardly ten

per cent of Tanzanian primary school leavers make their way into secondary education where English is the medium of instruction. According to the Director, the problem seems to be a vicious cycle involving sociological factors such as the unclear role of the English language in Tanzanian society on the one hand. On the other hand, ill-equipped schools and teachers in primary and secondary schools prepare their students inadequately. These two factors result in poor acquisition of the English language skills and knowledge to enable students pursue their secondary and higher education effectively in this medium.

V Director's personal opinion regarding the use of English as the medium of education in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania

Mjadala wa kuifanya lugha ya Kiswahili kuwa lugha ya kufundishia katika shule za sekondari na taasisi za elimu ya juu umeendelea kwa muda mrefu bila serkali kutoa msimamo thabiti. Kwa mazingira ya Tanzania ya leo, inabidi serkali ione umuhimu wa kubadili lugha hiyo kutoka mfumo wa hivi sasa wa kutumia Kiingereza na kukifanya Kiswahili kuwa lugha rasmi ya kufundishia. Lugha za kigeni zifundishwe kulingana na mahitaji na matumizi yake nchini.

The Director's personal opinion is that, in spite of the glaring facts on the effects of the continued use of English as the medium of education of secondary and higher education, the Government is taking very long time to reach a decision to implement the change of the medium English to Kiswahili. "... *Mjadala ... umeendelea kwa muda mrefu bila serkali kutoa msimamo thabiti...*" The Director further points out of the sociological and linguistic factors in Tanzania, particularly in the rural areas where the majority of the Tanzanians live, English is hardly used. Even in urban areas, English is hardly used as a language of choice in any interaction apart from international transactions. Thus, outside the classroom, English has very little utility to the majority of the people. The Director is of the opinion that money that is being spent on improving the standard of English as in the case of the ELTSP, is a waste of resources because the language cannot be improved in the classroom situation alone if it cannot be used effectively outside the classroom situation. On the other hand, the

Director is of the opinion that foreign languages could be taught in Tanzanian institutions according to specific needs and demands.

V On the question of mushrooming of English-medium kindergarten/primary schools (*academies*) in urban areas.

The Director is of the opinion that the mushrooming of the English-medium kindergarten/primary schools concerns a very small fraction of Tanzanians like the University dons, top government officials, and some businessmen who obtained their education and training mainly from overseas. He feels that this is a sign of dissatisfaction by parents at the failure of the government to provide quality education in the medium of English. He also acknowledges that it is the aspiration of the parents, particularly the elites, to see that their children get top quality education so that they progress educationally and ultimately get employed in offices and industries. He feels that it is the belief of most of the elites that the best education is that offered in the medium of the English language.

4.6.6 Interview with the Head, Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics, University of Dar es Salaam.

Conduct of the Interview

a. Place of interview

The interview was held in the office of the Head of Department at the University of Dar es Salaam.

b. Arrangement of the interview

A letter of introduction was obtained from the VC, SUA. An appointment for an interview was sought by visiting the Head in his office a week prior to the interview day.

c. Language of interaction during the interview

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. Responses from the Head were in both Kiswahili and English. There were many instances of code mixing, code switching between Kiswahili and English. Sometimes the Head gave full explanations in English only.

Interviewee's background

Sex Male

Age 50 years

The current Head of Department is a graduate of the Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics, at the University of Dar es Salaam. He did his postgraduate studies up to PhD in the UK. He has taught linguistics and English language in the Department for more than ten years. He was among the key people who were involved in the evaluation of the ELTSP in 1996/97 (see **Annex 7**). It is therefore expected that he could be one of the most useful respondents in this study.

I Language Use

The policy of the University is that English is the language of instruction in the classroom, the language of interaction during most of the committee meetings and the language of communication in most correspondence with other departments/faculties within the University.

The pattern of language use describes at SUA is the same at that existing at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM). According to the Head, although the University language policy requires English is used during the lecture and academic meetings, in practice, Kiswahili is the language of choice in many instances. For example, even during meetings of various committees of the University, members sometimes resort to code switching and code mixing between English and Kiswahili. According to the Head, this happens because there are no "sanctions" imposed on a member for using Kiswahili in his/her arguments or correspondence. For example, there is no known case whereby a member of the academic staff who wrote his/her letter in Kiswahili and that such communication was rebuked by the University authority. This situation in a

way makes the policy on language use at the University a mockery. The Head believes that it is not wonder that sometimes a member of academic staff may resort to code mixing/ code switching between English and Kiswahili during a lecture. However, he pointed out that correspondence with Government offices or individuals outside the University but within Tanzania is done in Kiswahili. Communication with international agencies or individuals on the other hand is done in English.

Ia. The Head as member of Academic Staff

According to the Head, during teaching, he uses English as the language of interaction in the lecture room. In very limited instances he may Kiswahili, for example to illustrate a concept that he feels was not clear from the way students ask questions. Outside the classroom however, the situation is different. The tendency is to start discussion/explanation in English. Gradually, however, both he and the student(s) shift to Kiswahili as the main language of interaction. His experience is that students prefer to interact in Kiswahili even if they are forced to use English. The Head thinks that the main reason is probably due to students' competence in the English language. He believes that this is partly due to the fact that there are limited situations outside the lecture room that demand the use of English. Thus, the Head of the Department thinks Kiswahili dominates the pattern of language use in the higher learning institutions in Tanzania and that English is used mainly in formal settings.

II Awareness of Language Policy

Ninafahamu sera ya lugha hapa nchini. Kwa upande wa sera ya lugha ya kufundishia hapa nchini, swala hili limejadiliwa kwa muda mrefu sana na mapendekezo kutolewa. Mimi ni mjumbe wa BAKITA. Swala zima limo mikononi mwa serkali ili litolewe uamuzi wa mwisho.

(Meaning: I am aware of the current government language policy. I have been a member of BAKITA Board).

The current Head of Department has been involved in many discussions on the question of language policy in Tanzania. He is a board member of *BAKITA*; he has therefore a very broad experience on the debate of language concerning the medium of education in Tanzania. He is therefore aware of the current language policy in Tanzania.

III Perception of the problem of use of the English language as the medium of education in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

Tatizo la lugha ya kufundishia katika shule zetu za sekondari na taasisi za elimu ya juu linatokana na sera ya hivi sasa ambayo matokeo yake ni kwamba lugha ya Kiingereza inadumaza lugha ya Kiswahili ... (subtractive bilingualism). Kwa mfano, stadi za lugha ya Kiswahili ambazo wanafunzi wamezipata katika shule za msingi ambapo lugha hiyo ni lugha rasmi ya kufundishia, haziendelezwi na kukuzwa kwa vile lugha rasmi ya kufundishia katika shule za sekondari ni Kiingereza. Kwa upande wa wale wanaojiunga na vyuo vya ualimu Daraja la IIIa, nako stadi za lugha ya Kiingereza hazikuzwi kwa vile lugha rasmi ya kufundishia katika vyuo vya ualimu ni Kiswahili.

According to the Head, the current policy that '*English only should be used in the classroom for teaching all subjects except in the teaching of Kiswahili*' is detrimental to acquisition of language competence in both Kiswahili and English. This is due to the fact that according to this policy, code switching and code mixing in the classroom between Kiswahili and English is not allowed but in practice this is exactly what happens in the classroom. The reasons for this practice, is that, both teachers and students are found not manage the business of teaching and learning respectively through the medium of English. Thus, Kiswahili is being used extensively in the classroom to enable teaching and learning activities to take place. In a nutshell therefore, the Head of the Department feels that the problem using *English only* as the medium does not exist because both Kiswahili and English are unofficially the media of instruction in secondary school classrooms. He believes that the tendency is now slowly creeping into the classrooms of higher learning institutions in the country.

IV Personal opinion of the Head of Department on the use of English as the medium of education in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania

Umefika wakati ambapo serkali ya Tanzania ingefikiria kuzitumia lugha zote mbili (Kiingereza na Kiswahili) kama lugha rasmi za kufundishia katika mfumo wa elimu. Mkazo uwe katika kutumia lugha ya Kiswahili. Kwa kutumia stadi za lugha ya Kiswahili, wanafunzi watumie pia Kiingereza katika kujifunza masomo yao (additive bilingualism)

(Meaning: It is high time that the government introduced both Kiswahili as official media of instruction in secondary and higher education).

The current Head of Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics at the University of Dar es Salaam has wide experience in classroom research in Tanzania. His personal opinion is that the policy of '*English only should be used in teaching all the subjects except Kiswahili in the classroom...*' is not in fact the daily practice. On the contrary, both in secondary schools and in the institutions of higher learning, both Kiswahili and English are used interchangeably. His opinion is that the Government should it official that both Kiswahili and English are official the media of instruction at all levels of education. He argues that in so doing, students will use the skills acquired earlier in Kiswahili to gain competence in the second language (in this case English). This is what he calls **additive bilingualism**. '*... Serkali ya Tanzania ingefikiria kutumia lugha zote mbili, (Kiswahili na Kiingereza) kama lugha rasmi za kufundishia katika mfumo wa elimu*'.

He further argues that knowledge of the English language and other foreign languages will widen the scope of knowledge of the Tanzanian learners. Furthermore, in the current era of science and technology, which is mainly in the medium of the English language on a large scale, future generations will not be left behind if the two languages are learnt and used effectively in the education system. Furthermore, **additive bilingualism** will ensure the growth of Kiswahili terminology particularly in

the field of science and technology. In addition, he pointed out that English has always been associated with power and prestige. It is linked to wider political and socio-economic factors. This kind of attitude will motivate learners to gain more skills in the English language and any other foreign languages taught in Tanzania schools.

V On the question of mushrooming of English-medium kindergarten/primary schools (academies).

Wazazi ambao hupeleka watoto wao katika shule hizi za "kimataifa" wanaona kwamba kwa mfumo wa elimu wa hivi sasa nchini Tanzania, watoto wao hawatapata stadi za Kiingereza. Pia hawa wazazi ni wale ambao wao wenyewe walielimishwa katika lugha ya Kiingereza. Kwa sasa wao na familia zao wanaishi katika mazingira ambayo lugha ya Kiingereza husikika au kutumika mara kwa mara. Kwa mfano wanazo TV au kompyuta majumbani mwao.

According to the Head of the Department, parents who send their children to the English-medium schools feel that under the current education system in Tanzania, their children will not gain competence in the English language skills. Furthermore, these parents were educated in the English medium and current live in an environment where English is constantly heard e.g. TV programmes. '*... Kwa sasa wao na familia zao wanaishi katika mazingira ambayo lugha ya Kiingereza husikika au kutumika mara kwa mara. Kwa mfano wanazo TV au kompyuta majumbani mwao*'. It is the expectations of such parents that their children will be more successful academically and pursue better careers in their future life.

4.6.7 Interview with the Principal, Ministry of Agriculture Training Institute, MATI, Mlingano, Tanga.

Conduct of the Interview

a. Place of interview

The interview was held in the Principal's office

b. Arrangement of the interview

The Principal was phoned to seek an appointment a week before travelling to Mlingano. Also a letter of introduction was obtained from the VC, SUA, as this is the practice for SUA researchers who intend to conduct research outside SUA.

c. Language of interaction during the interview

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. Responses were also in Kiswahili most of the time. Very few instances of code mixing were noted.

Background to MATIs/LITIs

MATIs/LITIs (Ministry of Agriculture Training Institutes/Livestock Training Institutes respectively) are specialised agricultural and livestock training institutions under the Ministry of Agriculture. These institutes offer Certificate and Diploma courses in agriculture and livestock. The graduates from these institutions are employed by the Ministry of Agriculture to work as extension workers in the villages and in offices, mainly at District level. Their main challenge is to modernise agriculture in Tanzania by introducing modern farming techniques and other relevant innovations suitable to specific rural settings.

Interviewee's background

Sex Male

Age 54 years

The current Principal is a graduate of SUA and holds a B.Sc. degree in agriculture. Prior to joining SUA, he trained at certificate and diploma level and worked for sometime before joining SUA for the degree course. He then taught in some MATIs prior to his appointment to his appointment as the Principal. He has also travelled abroad on study tours to similar agricultural training and research institutions. His main specialisation is agricultural mechanisation.

I Language Use

a. Correspondence with members of staff and outside the institution

Correspondence with members of staff and students is *mainly in Kiswahili*. Similarly, correspondence with the Ministry's headquarters and other institutions *is in Kiswahili*.

b. Principal as chairman of staff meeting

The principal chairs all staff meetings. The official language of interaction during such meetings *is Kiswahili*.

c. Meeting with students

The language of interaction during student *Baraza* or when meeting with students' representatives *is Kiswahili*.

c. Language of classroom interaction

Lugha rasmi ya kufundishia darasani ni Kiingereza. Hata hivyo uzoefu unaonyesha kwamba waalimu na wanachuo hutumia lugha zote mbili – ya Kiswahili na Kiingereza.

According to the Principal the official language of instruction in the classroom is English. However, his experience shows that tutors and students use both Kiswahili and English in the classroom.

II Awareness of language policy

Sera ya lugha rasmi ya chuo ni kutumia Kiingereza. Lakini sera hiyo haifuatwi. Tunatumia zaidi lugha ya Taifa ambayo ni lugha rasmi katika maofisi ya serkali.

(Meaning: The current policy on medium of instruction is to use English. However, this policy is not strictly adhered to).

According to the Principal, the current agricultural curriculum in MATIs/LITIs *is designed and written in English*. It has been the practice to offer the courses in English. Students write notes and examination in English. The textbooks are also in English. However, in practice Kiswahili is widely used orally in the classroom to make

explanations. The language of interaction outside the classroom is mainly Kiswahili. For example, announcements on notice boards are mainly in Kiswahili. There are no strictly rules that students and staff should not interact in Kiswahili and no one is breaking any rule for using Kiswahili. After all, it the National language and the official language in government offices. '*... tunatumia zaidi lugha ya Taifa ambayo ndiyo lugha rasmi katika maofisi ya serkali*'.

III Perception of the problem of English as the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

Wanafunzi wanaojiunga na masomo katika vyuo vya Kilimo ni wale waliomaliza elimu ya sekondari kidato cha Nne au cha Sita. Wengi wao wana matatizo makubwa sana ya kuwasiliana katika lugha ya Kiingereza kiasi kwamba inabidi tutumie Kiswahili kufafanua ili kuwasaidia katika masomo yao.

According to the Principal, students admitted into MATIs are normally secondary school leavers ('O-level' for those pursuing Certificate courses and 'A-level' for those pursuing Diploma course). These students seem to face enormous English language problems. They are unable to follow their courses in the medium of English language. Although the curriculum is in English, Kiswahili is widely used to '*to help*' students understand their courses. '*... wengi wao wana matatizo makubwa sana ya kuwasiliana katika lugha ya Kiingereza kiasi kwamba inabidi tutumie Kiswahili kufafanua ili kuwasaidia katika masomo yao*'.

IV Principal's personal opinion regarding the use of the English language as the medium of instruction in the institutions of her learning in Tanzania

Lugha ya Kiingereza ni lugha ya kimataifa. Watu huona fahari kuizungumza. Hata hivyo kwa upande wa kuitumia kama lugha rasmi ya kufundishia katika taasisi za elimu ya juu nchini kunawakwamisha wanafunzi wa Kitanzania kwa vile hawakimudu vizuri. Ni vizuri kama serkali ingeweka mikakati ya kuiboresha zaidi. Kama hili haliwezekeni, basi serkali iangalie upya sera ya lugha rasmi ya kufundishia. Kiingereza kifundishwe kama somo, na Kiswahili kitumike kama lugha rasmi ya kufundishia.

(Meaning: English is an international language. People feel proud to use it. However, to use it as a medium of instruction in higher education is not beneficial to Tanzanian scholars because most of them do not master it)

According to the Principal, English is an international language used worldwide. People feel proud to speak it. On the other hand, English as the medium of instruction in Tanzania affects students' academic performance because they are not competent enough. The government should therefore find ways to improve it. If this is not feasible, then Kiswahili should be made the medium of instruction and English should be taught as a subject.

4.6.8 English-medium Kindergarten/Primary Schools (*Academies*) in Tanzania: Background

In **Chapter One** it was pointed out that just after Tanganyika's independence in 1961, one of the significant changes was the abolition of an education system based on racial segregation. It was pointed out that during the colonial days there were schools for European children, Asians and Africans. The medium of instruction in the European and Asian schools was English while in the African lower primary schools (Standard I – IV) was Kiswahili and from Standard V –VIII (i.e. in the Middle Schools) the medium was English. English-medium kindergarten/primary schools emerged once again in the 1970s and late 1980s when Tanzania used to have a lot of foreign nationals working as expatriates in the government institutions. Their number was big enough to warrant private schools for children. These schools were called international schools where the medium of instruction was English. They were meant exclusively for the children of foreign expatriates. The fee was charged in US Dollars. During those days Tanzanian nationals were not allowed to own foreign currencies and therefore could not afford to send their children to these schools. This factor technically barred Tanzanian children getting enrolment in these schools. While this was happening, parents with financial capabilities began *unofficially* to send their

children to neighbouring countries such as Kenya, Uganda and Malawi where the medium of instruction in primary schools in English (see **Annex 3**).

In the mid-1990s there was dramatic change in Tanzania's policy. The Arusha Declaration policy on Socialism was gradually being repealed and replaced with liberalisation and privatisation policy. Individuals were allowed to own business. Private entrepreneurs ventured into establishing English-medium kindergarten/primary schools after realising that many well-to-do parents were sending their children to neighbouring countries. There could be profit in offering the same service within Tanzania (see **Annex 3**).

4.6.9 Interview with the Head teacher, St. Mary's International Academy in Dar es Salaam.

Conduct of interview

a. Place of interview

The interview was held in the Head teacher's Office.

b. Arrangement of interview

A letter of introduction was obtained from the VC, SUA. The Head teacher was contacted personally to seek an appointment. The interview was granted two days later (after the Head teacher had contacted his employer)

c. Language of interaction during the interview

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. The responses were also in Kiswahili. Very few instances of code mixing between English and Kiswahili were noted.

Interviewee's background

Sex Male

Age 42 Years

The current Head teacher is graduate of the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) where he obtained a B.A. (Ed.) degree. Prior to joining UDSM he attended teacher training certificate and diploma courses. He worked as primary schools and teacher trainer with an experience of sixteen years before his appointment to the present post. His pay is five times more than what he used to earn as teacher trainer in the government teacher training colleges.

Background to St. Mary's International Academy

St. Mary's International Academy is in an English-medium primary school, which was established in 1994 by the Roman Catholic Church. Its objectives are five-fold:

- To give quality education;
- To supplement the government's efforts to create more educational opportunities;
- To emphasise the integrated growth of student, namely physical, spiritual, and intellectual
- To cultivate an awareness of the cultural heritage of the country, national integrity, religious tolerance and unity in diversity; and
- To endeavour to initiate Christian based value education without prejudice to other faiths.
- *The school, therefore, is open to all Tanzanians and foreigners who can afford the fee* (sic!).

The difference between St. Mary's Academy and other public primary schools in Tanzania

According to the Head teacher, the difference between St. Mary's International Academy and ordinary public primary schools lies in the following:

- It is an English-medium. There are strict school rules on the use of the English language by both teachers and pupils in and outside the classroom. Other foreign languages will be introduced later and taught as subjects.
- Working environment is very advantageous: class size is very small (20 – 25 pupils).

- The school is well equipped in terms of textbooks, stationery, class readers and a wide range of teaching/learning facilities including toys and computers⁶⁵. Most of the textbooks are those in use in schools in the neighbouring countries (mainly Kenya). Outside facilities include a modern playground and other facilities suitable for young children.
- Pupils are highly motivated. All songs and games are conducted in English as an approach to teaching and learning other subjects.
- Teachers are highly motivated because the pay is good. Teachers are recruited from among the best trained currently working in government schools. Minimum qualification is Diploma in Education preferably with English as language specialisation.
- Government education inspectors do not inspect the schools.

At the time of this study the school had students up to Grade VI with a total of 140 pupils and sixteen teachers, among them there were two foreign expatriates. The fee per year is TSh. 840,000 (about £7,000) (for example see Appendix 15).

I Language Use

a. Interaction in the school

Sera yetu ni kuhimiza kutumia lugha ya Kiingereza wakati wote, iwe darasani, nje ya darasa au ofisini. Vilevile tunawahimiza wanafunzi watumie Kiingereza majumbani mwao, na wenzao na pia na wazazi wao.

According to the Head teacher, the school policy regarding language use is to use English at all times. Pupils are encouraged to use English at all times while at school and at home. ‘... *vilevile tunawahimiza wanafunzi watumie Kiingereza majumbani mwao...*’ Furthermore, school reports to parents are written in English. When parents visit the school, the interaction is normally expected to be in English. However, this is not mandatory.

⁶⁵ Government secondary schools in Tanzania cannot afford to have computers as part of their

b. Correspondence with officials and individuals outside the school

Correspondence with Government offices is done in the official language, which is Kiswahili. Correspondence with parents and other individuals is normally done in English unless the initiator of the correspondence used Kiswahili in the first place, then the school administration would respond in Kiswahili.

d. The Head teacher as chairman during staff meetings

Lugha rasmi wakati wa mikutano ya waalimu ni Kiingereza. Hata hivyo uzoefu unaonyesha kwamba waalimu wengi hawashiriki wakati wa kujadili hoja mbalimbali kwa sababu wanaogopa watakosea kuzungumza Kiingereza.

(Meaning: The official language during staff meeting is English. However, from my personal experience I have observed that no all teachers participate effectively).

The language of interaction during staff meetings is English. The school administration enforces this rule as part of enhancing '*English only policy*' in the school environment. The Head teacher's personal experience during such meetings is that most teachers do not contribute towards the discussion. In his opinion, this could most probably due to the fact that teachers are scared to talk in English because their competence in speaking English is not high (except for foreign teachers).

II Awareness of the Language Policy

The Head teacher is aware that the practice in Government offices is to use Kiswahili as the official language. He has not, however, seen any document about language policy in Tanzania.

III Perception of the problem of use of English as the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

learning process.

Wasomi wengi wametambua kwamba wanafunzi wanaojiunga na masomo katika taasisi za elimu ya juu wana matatizo makubwa ya kuelewa lugha ya Kiingereza. Hii ni sababu kubwa ya ya kuanzishwa kwa hizi shule za mchepuo wa Kiingereza. Wazazi wengi wanowaleta watoto wao hapa wanadai kwamba watoto wakianza kujifunza na kutumia Kiingereza katika masomo yao kuanzia shule za awali na za msingi basi watamudu lugha hiyo barabara. Hiyo ndiyo sera yetu. Kuwaandaa watoto kwa ajili ya juu ambayo hutolewa kwa lugha ya Kiingereza

According to the Head teacher, the elites in Tanzania have realised that students in the higher learning institutions have problems in using English as the medium of education. That is why they want to ensure that their children start using English as the medium of education right from kindergarten and primary schools. ‘...*wanafunzi wanaojiunga na masomo katika taasisi za elimu ya juu wana matatizo makubwa kuelewa lugha ya Kiingereza*’. The Head teacher feels that it is the expectations of the parents that if their children started education in the medium of the English language from kindergarten/primary schools, they would master the language. The Head teacher claims that, the policy of the English-medium kindergarten/primary schools to full fill this expectation.

IV Head teacher’s personal opinion on the use of English as the medium of education in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

Elimu ni ya kimataifa. Tukitumia Kiswahili kama lugha ya kufundishia elimu, hiyo elimu itakuwa ya Kitanzania tu. Hivyo elimu inapaswa kutolewa katika lugha ya kimataifa kama Kiingereza katika ngazi zote – msingi hadi chuo kikuu.

In his opinion, the Head teacher feels that knowledge should be shared internationally. He claims that if education is offered in Kiswahili, then such education remains within the borders of Tanzania. Education should therefore be offered in an international language such as English. ‘... *Elimu ni ya kimataifa...*’

V On the role of the English-medium kindergarten/primary schools

According to the Head teacher the English-medium schools have arisen because of the demand from parents who would like to see that their children get the best education which includes acquisition of the English language. He pointed out that in the past, parents who were financially capable, sent their children to the neighbouring countries or abroad. The Tanzanian Government has now allowed such schools to operate within Tanzania. It is a challenge to the Government to re-introduce English as the medium of instruction in primary schools.

6.6.10 Interview with parents who have children in the English-medium kindergarten/primary schools (*Academies*)

Parent 1:

Name: Dr. Y. P. Msanjila

Age: 50 years

Highest Level of Education: PhD

Address: Institute of Kiswahili Research (*TUKI*), University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM)

Profession: Research Fellow in *TUKI* (Sociolinguistic section).

Conduct of interview

a. Place of interview.

The interview was held in the parent's office, in the Kiswahili Building, UDSM.

b. Arrangement of interview

With the assistance of the Head teacher, several pupils were each given a letter to take their parents requesting them (parents) to be interviewed. The letters were issued one week before the interview day. In the letter, parents were asked to indicate convenient place and time for the interview. This particular parent indicated that he would be available in his office during normal office working hours.

c. Language of interaction during the interview

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. Responses were mainly in Kiswahili. There were instances of code switching between English and Kiswahili.

Interviewee's background

The interviewee is a senior research fellow in the Institute of Kiswahili Research (TUKI) at UDSM. He holds a PhD (with specialisation in Sociolinguistics). His PhD thesis focussed on the expansion of Kiswahili language in Tanzania at the expense of the local (ethnic) languages. He did his MA (Linguistics) in the UK and PhD at UDSM. He has four children – a boy and three girls. The child in the English-medium school is the last born – a twelve-year old girl. The older children have completed secondary education.

I Language use

Mimi na familia yangu tunatumia lugha ya Kiswahili. Wakati mwingine mimi na mke wangu hutumia lugha yetu ya asili ambayo ni Kigogo na hasa kama tukitaka kuteta jambo ambalo hatutaki watu wengine walifahamu.

(Meaning: My family and I use Kiswahili. However, my wife and I sometimes use Kigogo, our L1).

The parent indicated that in the home he uses Kiswahili and his L1 (Kigogo) since his wife is also Mgogo. English is hardly used as a language of interaction at home. However, to motivate his daughter who goes to the English-medium school, he sometimes uses English to interact with her. Such instances were mainly on the child's academic work. Kigogo, (his ethnic language), is used mainly with fellow Wagogo or when the couple want to exclude an outsider (non-Gogo speaker) in their conversation. Correspondence with other people is done in Kiswahili. Written communication to the English-medium school where his daughter goes is done in English (because the parent is conversant with English). However, when the parent visits the school he uses mainly Kiswahili with the Head teacher or other members of teaching staff in the school.

II Awareness of the language policy in Tanzania

This particular parent indicated that he is aware of the language situation in Tanzania by the virtue of the fact that he works in the Kiswahili Research Institute. He is also aware of the current debate about the medium of education in Tanzania's education system. Also the fact that he researched extensively on the future of the ethnic languages in Tanzania at the expense of the growth and expansion of Kiswahili, he is in a better picture of the current language policy in Tanzania. He has participated in several national and international debates and workshops on language situation in Tanzania. He has read widely on the on the language policy in Tanzania and has also written a number papers on the subject.

III Perception of the problem of use of English as the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania

Lugha ya Kiingereza haitumiwi na asilimia kubwa sana ya Watanzania katika maisha yao ya kila siku. Matokeo yake in kwamba wanafunzi wa Kitanzania hawapati mazoezi ya kuitumia lugha hiyo nje ya darasa. hivyo wanafunzi wengi wanashindwa kuimudu barabara kiasi kwamba inapotumika kama lugha rasmi ya kufundisha katika elimu ya juu wengi wao wanakwama kufauata masomo yao.

(Meaning: English is not used by many Tanzanians in their day to day activities. As a result, most learners to not practice it outside the classroom. As a result they find it difficult to use it as the medium of education).

According to this parent, English language is hardly used outside the classroom. As a result, learners (and Tanzanian population in the wider context) do not practice it outside the classroom, leading to poor mastery of the language. This state of affairs makes learners incompetent to use it as the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning. According to his experience, many Tanzanians who have received their formal education in general are not as competent in English language as their counterparts in the neighbouring countries such as Kenya, Uganda or Malawi.

IV Personal opinion of the parent regarding the use of English as the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

Mpaka sasa serkali imeshindwa kuweka bayana sera yake kuhusu lugha rasmi ya kufundishia katika shule za sekondari na taasisi za elimu ya juu. Kuendelea kuitumia lugha ya Kiingereza kama lugha rasmi ya kufundishia ndiko kunakowafanya wazazi walio na uwezo kifedha kuwapeleka watoto wao katika shule za msingi zinazotumia Kiingereza kama lugha rasmi ya kufundishia ili kuwaandaa kwa elimu ya sekondari na elimu ya juu. Hata hivyo kwa vile Watanzania wengi hataweza kuwapeleka watoto wao katika shule hizo, ingefaa sasa serkali iharakishe kutekeleza Sera yake ya Utamaduni ya 1997.

According to the parent, the failure by the Government to come out with a firm stand on the question of language policy for education forces many parents who are able financially to send their children to the English-medium schools. They do so in anticipation that once in secondary schools, their children would have mastered the English language skills. On the other hand, the parent feels that since the majority of Tanzanians will not be able to send their children to these rather expensive English-medium schools, the Government should implement its *1997 Cultural Policy* with regard to the medium of instruction in the education system. '*... Hata hivyo kwa vile Watanzania wengi hawawezi kuwapeleka watoto wao katika shule hizi, ingefaa serkali iharakishe kutekeleza Sera yake ya Utamaduni ya 1997*'.

V On the question of mushrooming of the English-medium kindergarten/primary schools (*Academies*)

According to the parent, the English-medium kindergarten primary schools are found in major towns only. This is a clear sign that these schools are meant for the children of parents who have attained high level of formal education and/ have strong financial base. The parent further indicated that English-medium has a good foundation in English language competence for the children. He argued that as long as the Government does not change the medium of instruction in the secondary schools and in the institutions of higher learning, *academies* would serve a good purpose.

Parent 2

Name: Mama Job

Age: 46 years

Highest academic qualification: Form IV

Address: Barongo Area, Msufini in Morogoro Municipality

Profession: Mr and Mrs Job own a wide variety of businesses such as shops, guesthouses, restaurants and bars.

Languages spoken: Kiswahili, Kiluguru and a bit of English.

Conduct of interview

a. Place of interview

The interview was held at Mama Job's shop along Market Street in Morogoro Municipality.

b. Arrangement of the interview

One of Mama Job's businesses (a shop) is in the market area in Morogoro Municipality. I am a regular shopper in the area. I happened to learn that one of Mama Job's children goes to Arusha International School (an English-medium) in Arusha Municipality (about 600 Km from Morogoro). I therefore requested Mama Job to be included in my study and she was willing to do so.

c. Language of interaction during the interview

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. All responses were in Kiswahili.

Interviewee's background

Mama Job has completed secondary education and is married to a businessman. She became involved in business by starting her own shop as part of the family enterprise.

I Language use

The interviewee indicated that she uses Kiswahili and Kiluguru (her mother tongue) as her main languages. She can read English papers but rarely speaks it, mainly because

there are not many people around to speak to. Thus, both Kiswahili and Kiluguru are used in every day interaction in her business and in social interaction. Mama Job is married to Nyakyusa. Therefore at home their main language of interaction is Kiswahili except when a Mluguru visits them, then she can switch to Kiluguru, and when a Nyakyusa visits them, her husband may switch to Kinyakyusa. She does not speak Kinyakyusa, neither her husband speaks Kiluguru.

II Awareness of language policy

Mimi sifahamu chochote kuhusu Sera ya lugha hapa nchini. Ninachofahamu ni kwamba watu hutumia Kiswahili maofisini na ndiyo lugha ya Taifa na Kiingereza hutumika mashuleni na kwenye taasisi za elimu.

(Meaning: I donot know anything about language policy in the country. I know we use Kiswahili in government office and English is used in English in schools).

The respondent indicated that she was not aware of any language policy in Tanzania. However, she is aware that Kiswahili is used in all government offices and English is used in schools and other learning institutions. On probing further, the respondent could not explain why Kiswahili is in all Government offices. Likewise, she could not explain the reason why English is the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

III Perception of the problem of use of English as the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania

Watoto wetu siku hizi hawajui Kiingereza. Kwa hiyo elimu wanayopata ni duni. Wanapokwenda kusoma Chuo Kikuu wanakwama kwa sababu huko lugha ya elimu ni Kiingereza.

(Meaning: our children these days do not understand English. Whey they go for higher education, I believe they do badly because university education is offered in the medium of English).

Although the respondent has not studied up to the university level, she feels that secondary school pupils do not have mastery over the English language. (She draws this from the experience of her daughters who studied at two different public secondary schools and who failed in many subjects including English). She therefore argues that if they could not master English at secondary school level, they cannot follow university education, which is offered in the medium of English.

IV Parent's personal opinion regarding the use of English as the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

Ingefaa kama Kiingereza kingeanza kutumika kama lugha ya kufundishia kuanzia shule za msingi. Tusingepata gharama kubwa ya kuwasomesha watoto kwenye shule za Kiingereza. Hivyo ninaishauri serkali ifikirie upya msimamo wake wa kutumia Kiswahili kama lugha ya elimu ya msingi, badala itumie Kiingereza. Isitoshe viongozi wetu ndio wanaopeleka watoto wao kwenye shule za Kiingereza kwa sababu wameona faida ya kutumia lugha hiyo katika elimu. Hivyo, sisi licha ya umaskini wetu tunajikakamua kuwapeleka watoto wetu huko pia.

(Meaning: it would be more advantageous if English were used as the medium of the entire education system in Tanzania. We would not be paying too much money to send our children to private English-medium schools. 'I therefore suggest that the Government made English the medium of education right from primary schools'. She argued that many government officials send their children to the English-medium schools because they know the benefit their children would get. So even 'we poor people are trying hard to send our children so that they may benefit when they go for further education').

The respondent is of the opinion that the Government should re-introduce English as the medium of education in the upper classes of primary schools. She pointed out that the government leaders send their children to the English-medium schools because they have realised the importance of the English language. So, a very few ordinary people

who can afford to pay also send their children to such schools in spite of the fact that it is very expensive and the majority of the Tanzanians cannot afford.

V On the question of mushrooming of the English-medium kindergarten/primary schools in Tanzania

Shule za msingi za mkondo wa Kiingereza zimetokana na sisi wazazi kutokuridhika na kiwango cha elimu katika shule za serkali kuanzia za msingi hadi elimu ya juu – hasa baada ya kuacha kutilia mkazo lugha ya Kiingereza. Lugha ya Kiingereza ni muhimu sana katika elimu kwa vile lugha hiyo ni lugha ya elimu ya dunia nzima.

According to this parent, English-medium schools (academies) are a result of the public's dissatisfaction with the standard of education in the Government schools. This is particularly so because less emphasis is put on English. The parent feels that English language is important because '*education in many countries in the world is offered through this medium*'.

Parent 3

Name: Mrs Prisca Kassam

Highest level of education: Secondary: High School

Address: Kilakala Morogoro, Tanzania

Profession: Housewife (mixed race marriage: spouse working in Japan)

Conduct of interview

a. Place of interview

The interview was held at the parent's residence in Kilakala area, Morogoro Municipality.

b. Arrangement of the interview

Two children from the same family were identified at the school with the help of the Head teacher. When the parent to collect her children, she was asked if she could participate in a research which she willingly accepted.

c. Language of interaction during the interview

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. All responses were in Kiswahili.

Interviewee's background

The interviewee is a housewife. She has completed secondary education. She spent five years in Japan with her spouse who currently works in Japan. The spouse completed secondary education too. Their income is substantial due the fact that the husband works in a car manufacturing company in Japan. The wife is Mnyasa while the husband is of mixed blood of an Arab father and Tanzanian mother (they therefore do not speak the same L1). The couple have three children – two are currently in the English-medium primary school while the youngest goes to an English-medium kindergarten class, which is part of the same English-medium school. Their children have acquired Kiswahili as their L1 because neither the L1 of the father (Arabic) nor the L1 (Kinyasa) of the mother is used at home nor in the immediate neighbourhood.

I Language use

Mimi hutumia Kiswahili tu nyumbani au ninapokutana na marafiki. Watoto wangu hutumia Kiswahili tu ingawa tungependa waongee Kiingereza lakini hakuna wenzao wanaojua Kiingereza hapa tunapoishi.

The respondent indicated that she uses Kiswahili only in the home or when interacting with friends. She also indicated that she has spent most of her life in urban settings because her parents were civil servants. She hardly speaks Kinyasa her mother tongue. Her children have acquired Kiswahili as their L1.

II Awareness of the language policy in Tanzania

Mimi binafsi sifahamu sera ya lugha hapa nchini ni ipi. Ila ninajua kuwa lugha ya Taifa ni Kiswahili.

The respondent indicated that she did not know anything about the language policy in Tanzania. On the other hand she indicated that she knows that the national language is Kiswahili.

III Perception of the problem of use of English as the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania

Wanafunzi wengi siku hizi hawajui lugha ya Kiingereza. Ndiyo maana sisi tumeamua kuwaanzishia watoto wetu masomo katika shule zinazotumia lugha ya Kiingereza wangali wadogo ili wakifika shule za sekondari au chuo kikuu wasipate taabu. Pia wanapokwenda nje ya nchi waweze kuwasiliana na watu wengine.

The parent feels that students in secondary schools and in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania are not competent enough in the English language. It is this basis that the family has decided to send their children to the English-medium school at an early age so that when they go to secondary school they may be able to follow their studies without difficulty. ('... *Ndiyo maana sisi tumeamua kuwaanzishia watoto wetu masomo katika shule zinazotumia lugha ya Kiingereza wangali wadogo ili wakifika sekondari na chuo kikuu wasipate taabu...*'). Also she hopes that when their children travel abroad, they will be able to communicate with other people in English.

IV Personal opinion of the parent regarding the use of English as the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

Kama watoto hawakupata elimu katika lugha ya Kiingereza, basi watakuwa hawajapata elimu inayofaa, maana hawataweza kuwasiliana na watu wa nchi zingine duniani. Pia hawataweza kufurahia picha za sinema au TV (televisheni). Kwa hivyo inafaa shule zote zitumie lugha ya Kiingereza katika kutoa elimu kwa manufaa ya taifa la kesho.

(Meaning: If children did not get their education in the medium of English, then they are not well educated, they will not communicate with people from other parts of the world. They will not be able to enjoy TV).

The personal opinion of the parent regarding the use of English as the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning (and in the education system in general) is that if children are not educated in the English medium then such children

are not educated properly. The main reason for this kind of argument is that without the knowledge of the English language, one cannot communicate with people in other parts of the world. Similarly, without the knowledge of the English language, people will not be able to watch and understand movies or watch television when transmitted in the medium of English.

V. On the question of mushrooming of the English-medium kindergarten/primary schools (Academies).

Shule za serkali hazitoi elimu nzuri kwa sababu hazifundishi kwa lugha ya Kiingereza. Kwa hiyo ni heri kuanzisha shule za binasfi ambazo zinatoa elimu kwa lugha ya Kiingereza ili wazazi wanopenda na wenye uwezo kifedha waweze kuwapeleka watoto wao.

(Meaning: Public primary schools do not offer good education because they do not use English as the medium of education).

The parent feels that Government primary schools do not offer good education because the medium of instruction is not English. It is therefore more appropriate to have as many of these English-medium schools as possible so that parents who can afford could send their children. She further points out that private English-medium primary schools are a challenge to the Government that people are not satisfied with the current education policy in the country particularly with regard to the medium of instruction.

Parent 4

Name: Mrs Mariam Mattao

Highest level of education: MA in teaching Literature

Address: Kilakala Secondary School, Morogoro, Tanzania.

Profession: Secondary school teacher.

Conduct of interview

a. Place of interview

The interview was held at the parent's residence in Mazimbu area in Morogoro Municipality.

b. Arrangement of the interview

A pupil was identified with the help of the Head teacher. When the parent came to collect her child she was requested to participate in the study. She willingly accepted. Place and time of the interview was set and the interview was held at the parent's residence.

c. Language of interaction during the interview

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. Responses were in Kiswahili too. There were however, a few instances of code mixing between Kiswahili and English.

Interviewee's background

The interviewee is married to a University lecturer. The couple have two children. Both are in the same English-medium primary school (the first born – a girl is in primary classes while the second, a boy, is in the kindergarten classes in the same school). The couple comes from two different ethnic groups (therefore they do not speak the same L1). Their children have acquired Kiswahili as their L1 and do not speak any of their parent's mother tongues. The interviewee is a secondary school teacher where she teaches literature and English language.

I Language use

The interviewee uses Kiswahili at home and in the work place except when teaching literature in the classroom. She uses Kiswahili and Kibondei, her L1 when interacting with people from her ethnic group. She sometimes uses English when interacting with her husband. At the school where she teaches, she uses English in the classroom. Where necessary she gives explanations in Kiswahili. In the staff room she uses Kiswahili when interacting with her colleagues. She writes official letters in Kiswahili.

II Awareness of language policy in Tanzania

The respondent is aware of the fact that the official and the national language in Tanzania is Kiswahili. She is also aware that the medium of instruction in primary schools is Kiswahili and that English is the medium of instruction in secondary schools and in the institutions of higher learning.

III Perception of the problem of use of English as the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania

Mimi ninafundisha katika shule za sekondari. Kwa kweli wanafunzi walio wengi hawaielewi vizuri lugha ya Kiingereza. Wanafunzi hawana msingi mzuri wa Kiingereza. Wanaojiunga na elimu ya sekondari ni wadhaifu mno katika lugha kiasi kwamba inabidi tutumie lugha zote mbili – Kiswahili na Kiingereza tunapofundisha. Hivyo nina imani kwamba wanapojiunga na elimu ya juu, matatizo bado ni yale yale. Ndiyo maana sisi tumeamua kuwaanzishia watoto wetu mapema kutumia lugha ya Kiingereza katika masomo yao.

(Meaning: I teach in secondary schools. Most students in secondary secondary schools do not understand English. They do not have good foundation in primary schools. That is why I decided to send my children to the English-medium primary school). According to the interviewee, Tanzanian students are not competent enough to pursue their studies in the medium of the English language. Her personal experience as a secondary school teacher is that student who enter secondary education are not competent enough in the English language to enable them pursue their education in that medium. As a result, teachers resort to teaching in both English and Kiswahili throughout their secondary education. By the time such students join universities and other institutions of higher learning, they have not acquired a strong base in the English language. As a result, the problem continues into these institutions of higher learning. Equally important is the fact that even the teachers in secondary schools are not competent enough in the English language to teach effectively without resorting to code switching and code mixing between English and Kiswahili in the classroom.

IV Personal opinion of the parent regarding the use of English as the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in Tanzania

The interviewee being a secondary school teacher sees that the problem of the use of English as the medium of education has its roots in not laying a good foundation of the English language in primary schools. She feels that by the time pupils start secondary education they have not acquired enough English language competence to follow their studies in that medium. According to this parent, the best solution is to introduce English as the medium of instruction from primary education in Tanzania as is the case in the private English-medium kindergarten/primary schools.

V. On the question of mushrooming of private English-medium kindergarten/primary schools (*Academies*)

Hizi shule za mkondo wa Kiingereza zinatokana na sisi wazazi kutaka kuona kwamba watoto wetu wanapata elimu iliyo bora kwa kuweka msingi katika lugha ya Kiingereza ili wakifika sekondari na chuo kikuu wasiwe na matatizo ya lugha.

(Meaning: These English-medium primary schools are mainly because of the demand put upon them by the parents – in order to prepare our children for secondary and higher education).

According to the interviewee, the mushrooming of private English-medium kindergarten/primary schools in Tanzania is a result of demand by parents to see that their children get 'good' education. She feels that if children are taught in the English medium at an early age, they will have a good foundation to enable them follow their studies when they get into school, colleges and universities.

4.6.11 Interview with peasants from Magadu and Towero Villages

SUA researchers, extension workers and students are highly involved with peasants in different parts of the country. The researcher, students and other extension workers conduct on-farm research and other outreach activities. This is in line with the University's policy towards modernising agricultural industry in the country by introducing new innovations and technologies as well as learning from the peasants on

the indigenous methods and practices of soil conservation as stipulated in the SUA Corporate Strategic Plan. For example, currently SUA researchers and students have on-farm research and other outreach activities in several parts of the country such as Lushoto, Mbinga and Njombe and in several villages in Morogoro where the University is situated. All on-farm research activities involve peasants as the main resource people to carry out the activities on their own farms such as constructing contour bands on the farms on hilly areas, intercropping, agroforestry practices, preparing and using organic manure and introducing new varieties of seeds on their farms. It also involves introducing and raising new breeds of animals such as dairy cows and dairy goats. Other activities include introduction of small-scale biogas plants for domestic use as part of environmental rehabilitation and conservation of the natural vegetation. Although these activities are still in their infancy stage and limited to only a few villages, the impact is already giving dividend.

As pointed out in **Chapter One**, I had the opportunity to participate in some of these on-farm research activities. At that time I noted that most SUA researchers resorted to code switching and code mixing between Kiswahili and English during meetings with peasants (although the official language was expected to be Kiswahili). The aim of this section therefore is to investigate language use of SUA researchers, students and extension workers from peasants' point of view to establish whether this practice interferes with the communication intended to reach them.

Interview with peasant 1

Name: Mzee Masudi

Age: 60 years

Sex: Male

Tribe: Mluguru

Address: Magadu Village

Education level: Attended adult literacy classes: can read and write in Kiswahili

Languages spoken: Speaks Kiluguru and Kiswahili.

Conduct of interview

a. Place

The interview was held at Mzee Masudi's house in Magadu Village and was conducted entirely in Kiswahili. All responses from the interviewee were in Kiswahili.

b. Arrangement of the interview

A number of peasants from Magadu and Towero Villages were randomly picked up from the village register through assistance of the village secretaries from the two villages⁶⁶. The selected peasants were then informed and convenient time for each interviewee was arranged.

Interviewee's background

Mzee Masudi was born and has lived in Magadu village ever since. He has also travelled to other parts of Tanzania such as Tanga where some of his relatives worked on sisal plantations. He therefore learnt much Kiswahili while travelling outside his village.

I.1 Language use

The interviewee uses Kiluguru, which is his L1, at home with his family members and the rest of the villagers, where the majority are the Waluguru. However, with non-Kiluguru speakers, he uses Kiswahili. In correspondence to other people such as his relatives who live far away, he uses Kiswahili.

I.2 Language of interaction with SUA researcher, students and extension workers.

The respondent's experience with SUA researchers, students and extension workers (whom peasants refer generally as *wataalam* i.e. *experts*) show that most of them use Kiswahili most of the time although they sometimes '*use English words and phrases*' within Kiswahili sentences (i.e. code mixing and code switching).

⁶⁶ In Tanzania, each village is regarded as a self-governing unit with its own chairman, secretary, and committees to oversee various village economic and social development activities such as health, education and defence.

Wataalam wetu wengi huzungumza Kiswahili fasaha, lakini kuna baadhi ambao huongeza maneno au sentensi za Kiingereza wanapotoa maelekezo kuhusu kilimo bora. maneno hayo kwa kweli wakulima wengi hatuyaelewi.

(Meaning that: Most of our learned experts use Kiswahili most of the time. However, some of them sometimes change to Kiswahili words or sentences when they demonstrate or explain about good farming practices).

II Awareness of language policy in Tanzania

The respondent is aware that the National language in Tanzania is Kiswahili.

Lugha yetu ya Taifa ni Kiswahili, kwa maana ndiyo lugha inayotumika kwenye mikutano ya hadhara tunapotemelewa na viongozi wetu wa serkali. Pia ndiyo lugha inayotumika kwenye radio na magazeti tunayosoma.

(Meaning that: our national language is Kiswahili because it is the language used by our government leaders, when they visit our village and hold public meetings. It is also the language used on the radio and in the newspapers).

III Personal opinion of the interviewee regarding the use of English as the medium of education in Tanzania.

The interviewee expressed that English is the language of education. Those who go to school must learn it in order to further their education and communicate with people from other parts of the world.

Kiingereza ni lugha ya elimu. Watoto wetu wanapaswa kujifunza Kiingereza ili waongeze maarifa yao na pia waweze kuwasiliana na watu kutoka sehemu zingine za dunia.

(Meaning: English is the medium of education. Our children must learn it in order to get more knowledge from other countries).

IV Awareness of English-medium kindergarten/primary schools

The interviewee is not aware of the existence of the English-medium kindergarten/primary schools in the country. However, on further probing and pointing examples of such schools in Morogoro Municipality he pointed out that:

Zile ni shule za watoto wa Kizungu na Wahindi bwana. Ila siku hizi naona pia ninyi wenzetu wasomi mnawapeleka watoto wenu huko kwa vile mna magari.

(Meaning that: "those schools are for the European and Indian children. However, these days, you, the intellectuals (*wasomi*), send your children to these schools too because you have got cars"⁶⁷).

Interview with peasant 2

Name: Amina Mohamed

Age: 30 years

Sex: Female

Address: Towero Village

Educational level: Primary 7

Language spoken: Kiluguru and Kiswahili.

Conduct of interview

a. Place of interview

The interview was held at the peasant's house in Towero Village.

b. Arrangement of interview

A name was randomly picked under females' list from the Village register. Through assistance of the village secretary, time and place for the interview was arranged.

c. Language of interaction during the interview

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili. All responses were in Kiswahili.

Interviewee's background

⁶⁷ In Morogoro, most parents their children to the English-medium primary schools using own transport or arrange with private hire agencies to take the children to and from school.

The interviewee completed primary education and is married with four children. The family lives in the same village and earns their daily livelihood from growing crops. They sell any surplus crop to earn cash. They also grow vegetables as a cash crop since they live near Morogoro Municipality. Two of their children go to a primary school in the village. None of their children goes to the English-medium kindergarten/primary school.

I.1 Language use

The interviewee uses Kiluguru at home and with other fellow Waluguru villagers when interacting in their village. However, she uses Kiswahili with non-Waluguru speakers. Although she has completed primary education she does not speak English and indicated that she does not understand English when spoken to.

I.2 Language of interaction with SUA researchers, students and extension workers.

The respondent explained that most experts from SUA (researchers, students and extension workers) use Kiswahili when they hold discussion or demonstrate good farming practices. She also pointed out that sometimes the experts add English words when they explain or demonstrate things such as seed spacing or number of seeds per hole when sowing.

Wataalam wetu kutoka SUA hutumia zaidi Kiswahili wanapotoa maelekezo yao au wanapotuonyesha jinsi ya kupanda mbegu mashambani.

(Meaning: Agricultural experts from SUA use Kiswahili when they demonstrate modern techniques to us).

II Awareness of the language policy in Tanzania

The respondent is aware that Kiswahili is the national language and language used by all government leaders when they visit their village for various reasons.

Kiswahili ndio lugha yetu ya Taifa na ndiyo lugha wanayoitumia viongozi wetu wa serkali wanpotutembelea hapa kijijini au maofisini.

III Personal opinion of the interviewee regarding English as the medium of education in Tanzania

The respondent indicated that English is the language of foreigners. It is therefore inappropriate to use it as the language of education in Tanzania. She also pointed out that even if English were used as the language of instruction, it is hardly used in the day to day in the villages.

Kiingereza hakitumiki Vijijini. Kwa mfano ninyi wataalamu mnaojua Kiingereza mkija hapa kijijini mnazungumza nasi kwa kiasi.

IV Awareness of the English-medium kindergarten/primary schools

The respondent is aware that there are English-medium primary schools but she also put it in a negative way that such schools are not for the poor villagers but for the children of the *wakubwa na wasomi* (big shots and the intellectuals)

Hizo shule za mkondo wa Kiingereza ni kwa ajili ya watoto wa wakubwa na wasomi kama ninyi waalimu wa chuo kikuu ambao mna uwezo wa kuwapeleka watoto wenu huko.

(Meaning: The English-medium primary schools are for those who have money like university lecturers).

Interview with peasant 3

Name: Hadithi Kondo

Address: Magadu Village

Sex: Male

Age: 35 years

Educational level: Primary 7

Tribe: Mluguru

Languages spoken: Kiluguru and Kiswahili

Conduct of interview

a. Place of interview

The interview was held at the peasant's house in Magadu Village.

b. Arrangement of interview

The name of the respondent was randomly picked from the male section of the village register and a suitable time for the interview was arranged through the assistance of the village chairman and secretary.

c. Language of interaction during the interview

The interview questions were asked in Kiswahili and all responses were in Kiswahili.

Interviewee's background

The interviewee is married with five children, three of whom go to a public primary school within the village. Apart from farming the respondent also works as a night security guard at one of the Municipal's water reserve tanks.

I.1 Language use

The respondent indicated that he uses Kiluguru at home with his family, but may also use Kiswahili from time to time with his wife and children. Similarly, he uses Kiluguru and some times Kiswahili with his fellow villagers. During village meetings, Kiswahili is the main language of interaction while Kiluguru is use only to make elaboration or clarification where necessary.

I.2 Language of interaction with SUA researchers, students and extension workers.

The respondent indicated that agricultural experts from SUA (*wataalam wa kilimo kutoka SUA*) use Kiswahili most of the time when they demonstrate how to do modern farming. However, there are some experts who use English words when they demonstrate or explain about good farming practices.

II Awareness of Language policy in Tanzania

The respondent indicated that Kiswahili is the national language and therefore government leaders use it when they address the villagers during visits to the village.

III Personal opinion of the respondent regarding use of English as the medium of education in Tanzania.

The respondent is aware that English is the language of instruction in secondary schools and at the university. However, he does not see the relevance because after completing education, Tanzanian children do not use it in their day to day activities except those who go for further education.

Kiingereza kinatumika tu madarasani, lakini watoto wetu wakishahitimu elimu ya sekondari na kurudi kijijini hutumia Kiswahili au lugha yao ya asili. Hata hivyo kwa wale wanaoendelea na elimu ya juu ndio kinawafaa kwa vile wataendelea kuitumia kama lugha ya masomo.

(Meaning: English is used in the classroom only, but after completing secondary education they use Kiswahili or their mother tongue...).

IV Awareness of the English-medium kindergarten/primary schools

The respondent indicated that he is aware of the English-medium primary schools. However, he does not have a child in any of these schools. He pointed out that such schools are for the children of those who *have plenty of money and not poor peasants*.

From the sample of the peasants interviewed, it is apparent that Kiswahili is widely spoken as second language by most Tanzanians. This shows the impact of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) introduced in the late seventies where the medium of instruction is Kiswahili (see **Chapter One**). The majority of the active productive force today are those who are in their twenties and thirties. However, this picture may be slightly different in the older generations and from one ethnic group to another, as for example among the Maasai or the Barabaigs who are mainly nomadic pastorals.

With regard to English, the peasants pointed out that researchers, students and extension workers from SUA do sometimes use English words and phrases when they demonstrate or explain farming practices. One reason for this phenomenon could be lack of vocabulary in Kiswahili for the concepts being demonstrated. This area needs further research.

It is also apparent that peasants who live near major towns, like in the case of Magadu and Towero, are aware of the existence of the English-medium kindergarten/primary schools for those parents who can afford. The idea of having such schools may not be a bad one, but when it affects performance of public schools it may have serious social repercussions in the country's future economic and political stability and thereby undermining the goals of *National Development Vision 2025*.

4.7.0 Observations during meetings of various University Committee Meetings with focus on the language of interaction.

4.7.1 Meeting of the University Senate

The University Senate is responsible to the University Council for the control and general regulation of the instruction, education and research within the University. In addition, it has to satisfy itself regarding the content and academic standard of any course of study offered by any Faculty, Institute or constituent college of the University in respect of any degree, diploma, certificate or other award of the University. The Senate reports its findings on those matters to the Council. Secondly, the Senate formulates and recommends to the Council by-laws regarding the eligibility of persons for admission to any course of study at the University for the obtaining of any degree or other award of the University. Third, to initiate and make proposals to the Council relating to the conduct of University, to make rules governing such matters as are within its powers in accordance with the provision of the University Act.

The Senate meeting is chaired by the Vice Chancellor (VC) or the University and the Deputy Vice Chancellor (DVC) is the vice-chairman. The Secretary to the Senate is the Registrar. Senate membership is drawn from within the University. It consists mainly of the administrators of academic faculties such as Deans, Directors, Heads of Departments and other appointees from among members of the academic staff. Four members elected from the Students' Organisation are also members of the Senate. Other invitees include the Head of the Personnel and Administrative Staff and the Dean of Students. Other members in attendance include the recorder of the meeting and the examination officer of the University.

It was noted that items on the agenda and minutes of the meeting were written in English except for the items from the administrative departments such as the Planning Unit and the Estate Department whose papers were presented in Kiswahili. The ensuing discussion and deliberation during the meeting were conducted in English except for those items presented in Kiswahili. However, in practice, both English and Kiswahili were used interchangeably during the discussion. It is interesting to note that when a paper is presented in English, there is a tendency to code switch between English and Kiswahili. Similarly, when a paper is presented in Kiswahili, there is also a tendency to code switch between Kiswahili and English. The Chairman of the Senate is not bound to restrict a member to use a particular language during the meeting. He himself sometimes resorted to using Kiswahili in summarising the discussion.

4.7.2 Meeting of the University Administrative Services Committee (UASC).

The University Administrative Services Committee (UASC) comprises of the Heads of academic and administrative departments and other heads of departments which provide service to the University community such as the Resident Medical Officer of the University health services heads of technical departments from Faculties and Institutes.

The Registrar is the Chairman of the UASC. The Registrar does not necessarily come from among the members of the academic community. During this study, the Registrar was from outside SUA academic community (see above).

Items of the agenda and minutes of the meeting were in English. However, papers were presented in both English and Kiswahili. The ensuing discussion was mainly in Kiswahili. A possible reason for this phenomenon could be due to the composition of the membership of UASC (see above).

4.7.3 Meeting of the Undergraduate Studies Committee (UGSC) of the Senate.

The UGSC consists of representatives from Faculties, Institutes, Directorates, the chairman of the University Teaching and Learning Improvement Programme (UTLIP), Dean of Students and students' representatives. Its recorder (in attendance) is the University examination secretary. The examination secretary is not a member of academic staff.

The UGSC is an advisory body to the Senate. It handles academic matters pertaining to undergraduate studies such as examination results, review of curriculum, establishment of new degree programmes and student complaints such as appeals against discontinuation from studies on academic grounds. Its recommendations are forwarded to the Senate for further deliberation and approval.

The Chairman of the UGSC is the Deputy Vice Chancellor (DVC), who is the Chief Academic Officer of the University.

The items of the agenda of the meeting and the proceedings of the meeting were presented in English. Deliberations during the meeting were conducted in English as well. A very few instance of code mixing and code switching between English and Kiswahili were noted.

4.7.4 Meeting of the University Workers' Council

Workers' Council is composed of all Heads of academic, administrative and technical departments at SUA. The Workers' Council endorses the agenda for the meeting of the University Council. It also endorses all papers to be presented at the University Council's meeting for discussion and approval. The University administrative organs then execute all matters approved by the University Council.

The Annual General Meeting of the Workers Council elects the Chairman of the Workers' Council from among the University employees from both the academic and administrative staff.

It was noted that all items on the agenda for the Workers' Council were written in Kiswahili. The minutes were also written in Kiswahili. The Workers Council receives all papers for the University Council's meeting (except reserved agenda). It may voice its concern and make recommendations or suggestion on issues if it feels necessary for the Councillors to take note. Discussion during the meeting was conducted mainly in Kiswahili. However, there were also instances of code mixing and code switching between Kiswahili and English. It was observed that members of the academic staff code switched and code mixed more often than did the members from non-academic departments.

4.7.5 Meeting of the University Council

The University Council consists of members appointed from various backgrounds. For example the Chancellor in consultation with the Vice Chancellor appoints up to seven members. Ministers from the following Ministries appoint other members: Higher Education, Agriculture and Livestock, Natural Resources, Finance and Economic Planning and the Ministry of Manpower Development. In addition, the National Assembly appoints others from amongst the members of the National Assembly. The University Senate also appoints members from amongst the members of the academic staff. The students' organisation elects its representatives from among its members.

The appointed members of the University Council are normally persons who are qualified or who have prerequisite experience enabling them to fully and usefully contribute to the discharge and functions of the Council.

As for the function of the University Council, the governance, control and administration of the University are vested in it. The Council therefore has powers to administer property and funds of the University for the promotion of the best interests of the University including provision for the welfare of both the staff and the students of the University. Furthermore, the Council may make by-laws relating to the government, conduct and discipline of the students and the staff of the University.

The President of the United Republic of Tanzania appoints the Chairman of the University Council.

The official language of interaction during the meeting of the University Council is Kiswahili. The items of the agenda and the minutes are all written in Kiswahili. In the case of SUA (and the University of Dar es Salaam and also in all other institutions of higher learning in Tanzania) this means that all matters previously deliberated in English by the lower University organs such as the Senate and Faculty Boards, have to be translated into Kiswahili.

In the course of discussion during the Council meeting, it was noted that, while the official language is Kiswahili, members tended to code mix between Kiswahili and English. Interestingly, members who tended to code mix were those from outside SUA (most of them come from non-academic institutions but highly learned people). This could be more of psychological phenomenon or status since these members (from outside SUA) operate in a body belonging to a learning institution. Of course some of them come from the elite class. Further research into code switching and code mixing is essential in future to find out reasons for this practice especially among the elite.

4.8 Classroom interaction

In order to investigate language use in the classroom at SUA, five lecturers, two from the Faculty of Agriculture, (FoA) and one from each of the following: Faculty of Forestry and Nature Conservation (FFNC), Faculty of Veterinary Medicine (VM) and Development Studies Institute (DSI) were included in the study observe classroom interaction. However, they were not told the aim of my presence in the classroom until at the end of the session. After discussing with them, they all requested anonymity.

The five lecturers were all PhD holders, hence their educational qualification and specialisation in their fields of specialisation are of high standard. Four of them were at the rank of Senior lecturer while one was a Professor. Two of the lecturers did not engage in code switching or code mixing at all during their teaching while three of them did.

During the classroom interaction, I noted that code switching and code mixing occurred at specific points during the lecture. First, it was noted that phenomena occurred when responding to some of the students' questions and sometimes when making a summary at the end of the lecture (although in one instance the lecturer code mixed/code switched in the middle of the lecture). It is important to stress here, however, that the practice was not common to all lecturers observed and not all the times when responding to students' questions or when summarising the lecture.

The summary of the findings is presented below.

4.8.1 Code switching and code mixing in responding to student questions.

It was observed that students asked questions in English. However, it was noted that sometimes the framing of the question was ambiguous – which was an indicator either the student did not understand the subject properly, or was not competent enough in English. The lecturer responded to the question first in English, and then gave more elaboration in Kiswahili. For example

Lecturer: *Nilichokuwa ninataka kusema ni kuwa...* (And then he goes on explaining in Kiswahili, sometimes mixing with English and sometimes moving back completely to English).

(Meaning: **what I was saying is...**).

On discussing with several subject specialists about this phenomenon, it became apparent that they did so *for the benefit of the students who could not follow the presentation in English*.

The next question put to such lectures was how could they tell that such students did not follow the lecture because of the language problem? They argued that one could tell that from the way the students asked questions it was either a question of language problem on the side of the students or a question of not understanding the subject matter.

4.8.2 Code switching and code mixing in the middle of the lecture

This phenomenon was noted to occur from time to time. Analysis showed that this was done mainly to emphasise a point. In one example the lecturer (from DSI) was teaching first-year students on the "Modes of production in different societies". When it came to giving examples of such societies, he moved to Kiswahili:

Kwa mfano, hapa Tanzania tunaona kwamba jamii...

(Meaning that: for example, here in Tanzania we note that ...).

On discussion with the subject specialists, they pointed out that they sometimes resorted to Kiswahili to emphasise their points because they did not want their students to miss important points that were likely to appear in the examination questions.

4.8.3 Code switching/code mixing in summarising lectures

Instances of code switching and code mixing were more frequent at the end of a lecture. A close examination of the expressions used indicates that such instances were used mainly to summarise the lecture. For example:

Kwa kifupi, katika somo letu la leo tumezungumzia/tumeona kwamba...

(Meaning: **in short, today we have seen that/discussed/talked about...**)

While discussing these instances with the subject specialists, it became apparent that they code switched and code mixed in summarising their lectures to make sure that students are clear at least on what was covered during the lecture. When asked why do they sometimes resort to this practice, they indicated that from their long experience, not all students are competent enough to grasp the presentation in English. A further question was whether they were aware that the policy on language of instruction at the university is to teach in English. They indicated that they were aware of this practice but they are forced to code switch/code mix because they were sympathetic with those students who cannot follow lectures in English properly all the time. They felt this belief was supported by their personal experiences when they mark students' essays. They claim that some students clearly show that they could not follow presentations during lectures, and probably did not benefit from much from readings. They attributed this to be most likely because of the language.

However, **not all lecturers** practise code switching/code mixing in the classroom. On the other hand, all lecturers who participated in this study indicated that they do a lot of explanation in both English and Kiswahili during consultation outside classroom. They pointed out that they resort to this practice to make sure that their students are clear about the subject matter. They also pointed out that most students tend to ask questions in Kiswahili when outside the classroom⁶⁸.

⁶⁸ Observation in other situations within the University shows that students feel at ease to ask questions in Kiswahili than in English. For example, during a student strike in 1996, students demanded that they explain their problems in Kiswahili when discussing their issues in a Baraza with the Deputy Vice Chancellor (DVC). When the DVC asked them why they wanted to use Kiswahili instead of English, the official language of the University, they pointed out that they would make their demands clearer in Kiswahili than in English. When they were denied to do so, the Baraza was

Classroom interaction is one area where further research is necessary in future to explore possible avenues to improve teaching and learning in Tanzania's education system particularly in secondary schools and higher education.

Audio/video taping were not used in the classroom in this study because teaching staff were wary about the practice. Future research should seek to overcome this reluctance so that the actual mechanics of the language problem can be fully explored.

4.9 Documentary evidence

Evidence for my findings is supported in a number of documents. Other documents studied provided the policy framework in which the linguistic/educational problem has developed. To make clear the documentary evidence assembled I present them here. These documents can be grouped into the following categories: language use, language policy, and external examiners' reports. I have also included other observations such as newspaper articles on the language debate, language use on radio and television under documentary evidence. As I pointed out earlier, some of these have been appended as **Annexes**. I shall now elaborate.

4.9.1 Documents produced in SUA

From the documents, it is evident that at SUA both English and Kiswahili are used within the University for various functions. For example, the two languages are used in correspondence from both members of academic and administrative cadre. Similarly, correspondence outside SUA may be carried out in either English or Kiswahili, depending on the nature of correspondence and on the party involved. The findings pointed out that correspondence with government offices is done in Kiswahili, as this is the government policy. However, correspondence with international organisations is done in English. Similarly, correspondence with international bodies outside Tanzania is done in English.

brief - not necessarily that the issues were resolved. On the contrary, it was because the students could not express their demands effectively in English. (At that time I was also the Acting Dean of Students).

Within SUA, both Kiswahili and English are used in writing minutes of University committee meetings. This depends very much on the nature of the committee. For example, it was pointed out that, while the minutes of the lower committees such as those of Faculty Boards, UGSC and Senate are written in English, the same matters, when forwarded to the Workers' Council and the University Council for approval, are discussed in Kiswahili, and minutes written in Kiswahili too.

4.9.2 Documents produced by the Tanzanian Government

Language policy documents studied included the *1997 Cultural Policy* and *Education and Training Policy* of 1993 and 1995 (see **Chapter One**). Other documents under this category included the *Report of the Presidential Commission on Educational Reforms (The Makwetta Commission)* and the *Impact Assessment Report* of the English Language Teaching Support Project (ELTSP) described in **Chapter One**. Another document studied and which is closely related to this category was the Criper and Dodd's Report which was also described in **Chapter One**.

While the *Makwetta Commission* and the *1997 Cultural Policy* aim for Swahilisation of the medium of education system in Tanzania, the *Criper and Dodd Report* recommended strengthening of the teaching of English and its continued use as medium of education. The *Education and Training Policy*, while appreciating the problem, seem to vacillate, hence stifle the implementation of Swahilisation of the medium of education.

4.9.3 External Examiners' Reports.

At SUA, all external examiners are required to submit their final report regarding their examination. Such reports point out to the University academic managers, strengths and weaknesses of each paper examined. The report therefore, normally points out how students performed in each question. In a nutshell, the external examiners may commend the subject specialist or point out any weakness of the paper in terms of

questions setting and marking scheme. He/she may also point out students' strengths and weakness in answering questions and suggest ways to improve.

As pointed out in Chapter One, one of the persistent issues external examiners pointed out in their reports is the students' English language competence. For example, taking the 1999 reports to different Faculties, the external examiners remarked as follows:

Paper H.E. 1.5 (FoA): All 46 students' answers were very short, scanty on subject matter and poor command of English. Recommended that in future students be exposed to intensive grammar course and communication skills course.

Veterinary Anatomy (VM) (Oral examination): Some students were nervous, failed to answer questions in English. Recommended that they attend course in English/communication skills classes.

BS 102 (FoS): Students have the worst performance in question 3. This is evidence that students' English language competence in general and in writing in particular poses relatively greater problems to students in answering examination questions. Recommended that communication skills course devote more time in teaching writing skills.

The list of observations on the question of students' English language competence from the external examiners' remarks is very long and consistent every year.

In response, each Faculty is requested to react to the external examiners' reports. The Undergraduate Studies Committee (UGSC) of the Senate then discusses the reactions from all Faculties and its recommendations are forwarded to the Senate. The Senate, after discussing these reactions, requests Faculties to rectify the anomaly in future examinations.

With regard to students' English language competence, Faculties generally call the problem "poor communication skills" (see **Annex 1**). The recommendation from Faculties, UGSC and Senate is normally as follows:

Recommended that the Faculty of Science (formerly Basic Sciences Unit) should assist in improving students' communication skills.

From these observations by the external examiners, it is clear that students' English language competence is inadequate. Furthermore, these observations have been made repeatedly year after year since SUA became a full-fledged University in 1984. It was on the basis of such observations that SUA formed its Communication Skills Unit in 1987 (see **Chapter One**).

4.9.4 Other Documentary evidence.

Other documentary evidence regarding the problem of the English language as the medium of education in Tanzania included newspaper articles. This was mainly in the form of debate and commentaries for and against Swahilisation of the medium of education in Tanzania. The debate was also carried out on television and radio. Similarly, language use on television and radio was studied.

With regard to the debate in the newspapers, television and radio on whether or not to shift to Kiswahili, it was noted that the general public in Tanzania is divided on this subject. There are those who prefer the current system to continue and there are those who strongly recommend a shift to Kiswahili as the medium of education. There is an enormous wealth of material and I have appended a sample.

With regard to language use, the national radio (Radio Tanzania) uses Kiswahili in all its programmes while private radio stations may mix the two languages. As for television programmes, both English and Kiswahili are allotted time to run their programmes. Apart from newscasts, however, all English programmes are imported. They include films, documentaries and world news from leading international television stations such as BBC, Sky, CNN and Deustchewelle World Service (which has some of its international programmes in English). However, as pointed out earlier, at the moment, it is only a section of people in major towns who can enjoy television programmes.

4.10 Summary of responses

In this section I am going to summarise the responses from the respondents in a tabular form under four major themes. The themes are language use, aware of language policy, attitude towards English as the medium of secondary and higher education and the behaviour of the respondents towards Swahilisation of the medium education in Tanzania.

Respondents	Language use	Awareness of language policy	Attitude towards English as a medium of education	Behaviour towards English/Kiswahili as medium of education
SUA Protagonists/ lecturers	<p>a. Kiswahili is the language of choice in face-to-face interaction; official language of communication with government offices; official language during meetings of the University Council, and workers Council.</p> <p>b. English is used as the medium of instruction in the classroom, in international communication, and in writing research reports.</p>	They aware that Kiswahili is the official language, and medium of primary education. Also aware that English is used as the medium of secondary and higher education. However, have not seen any government policy document regarding the medium of higher education, only assume to be English medium because it is the medium of secondary education.	They aware of the profound problems associated with English as the medium of higher education. In teaching they resort to code mixing and code switching between English and Kiswahili. However, they do not recommend a shift to Kiswahili as the medium of secondary and higher education in Tanzania.	They send their own children to English-medium kindergarten/ primary schools to have a head start for the English-medium secondary and higher education. They send their own children to the most prestigious private secondary schools in the country or outside Tanzania
Protagonists of the Ministry of Education and Culture	Kiswahili is used in all domains within the Ministry and inter-ministerial communication. English is used in international communication.	They are all aware of the government language policy – they are the very people who prepare language policy in the country.	They are aware of the profound problems associated with English as the medium of secondary and higher education. They defend the government	They send their own children to English-medium kindergarten/primary schools to give them a head start for secondary/ higher education offered in the English

			position and would like to see a shift to Kiswahili as medium of secondary and higher education.	medium. They send their own children to most prestigious private secondary schools within or outside Tanzania.
Heads of public institutions (e.g. MATI, TUKI, BAKITA)	They use Kiswahili at work place as the official language and English as language of wider communication	They are aware that Kiswahili is the national/official language in Tanzania. They are aware that English is used as medium of secondary and higher education but are not aware of specific document on government language policy regarding the medium of secondary and higher education.	They are aware of the profound problems associated with the use of English as medium of secondary and higher education. Those in institutions such as TUKI and BAKITA work hard toward a shift to <i>Swahilisation</i> policy.	They send their own children to English-medium kindergarten/primary schools to give them a head start for the English medium secondary and higher education. They send own children to the most prestigious private secondary schools within or outside Tanzania.
Parents with children in academies	They are aware that Kiswahili is the official/national language in Tanzania. They use Kiswahili and or their L1 at home and their work. They use mainly Kiswahili at their work place or place of business. Those working in places requiring English such as institutions of higher learning use it in the domains requiring English e.g. in the classrooms.	They are aware of the profound problems associated with use of English as the medium of instruction of secondary and higher education. They are not aware of government language policy in higher education.	They are highly motivated parents and would like to see English continued as the medium of secondary and higher education in Tanzania. A shift to <i>Swahilisation</i> would make them demand private English-medium secondary and higher education. That is, they would simply extend the current position they hold regarding primary education into higher education.	They are prepared at any cost to ensure that their children obtain education in the English-medium kindergarten/primary schools or outside Tanzania. They send their children to private secondary schools. They have access to IT facilities and have TV sets in their homes, etc.
Peasants	They use their respective mother tongues in the	They are aware that Kiswahili is the official	They are not quite aware of the problems	They are the majority in Tanzania (up to

	family, and both their L1 Kiswahili in village meetings	language used in government offices (which they refer to as <i>lgha ya Taifa</i> (national) language	associated with English as medium of secondary and higher education. However, they are aware that <i>wasomi</i> (intellectuals) from institutions of higher learning such as SUA code mix and code switch when interacting with them	85%). Some cannot even afford to send their children to ordinary public primary or secondary schools. Some of them are aware of the existence of the academies but do not educate their own children in these institutions, neither do they educate their children in private secondary schools nor send them outside Tanzania to obtain primary or secondary education.
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4.11 Concluding remarks

In this concluding section I am going to relate the data to the research questions set out earlier. The main focus was to try to establish the reason(s) for the findings. For example, as pointed out in **Chapter One**, why has the language policy for the education system in Tanzania been vacillating for the past four decades as shown in the education and Training Policy and Cultural Policy? Why do the decision-makers in the (Tanzanian) Government not heed the recommendations of local socio-linguists and educational experts in changing the medium of instruction from English to Kiswahili at all level of the education system? Why does the Tanzanian public in general appear to be divided on the issue of changing the medium of instruction in secondary schools and tertiary education from English to Kiswahili as shown in the debate on this issue in the newspapers, radio and television? Why do well-to-do parents send their primary school children to neighbouring countries where the

medium of instruction is English or to the mushrooming English medium kindergarten/primary schools in the country?

Let me first revisit the questions. They were as follows: is there lack of awareness and knowledge of government language policy among top managers in the institutions of higher learning such as Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA)? Is there lack of logical chain in the formulation of language policy? Is there lack of coherence in the recognition of the function of language in the society and language acquisition in particular? In short the investigation aimed at finding out how ideal implementation of language policy in an institution of higher learning in Tanzania deviates from reality and if so, why this deviation. I shall now attempt to give analysis of each hypothesis drawing on the findings and also on the available global literature on the subject.

In 4.4.1 to 4.6.10 responses from different respondents were presented. Respondents from SUA were as follows: the Vice Chancellor, (VC), Deputy Vice Chancellor (DVC), Registrar, Deans of Faculties, and Directors of Institutes. **Item II** of the interview focussed on the awareness of the language policy in the country in general and in the institutions of higher learning in particular. The aim was to find out whether the top executives were aware of Government directives/legislation regarding language policy in the institutions and whether such documents existed in the institutions. The general impression one gets from the presentation of data is that the top executives in the institutions of higher learning are aware of the fact that the official and the national language in Tanzania is Kiswahili. They are also aware that the official language in government offices is Kiswahili. As for the medium of instruction they are aware that in primary schools the medium of instruction is Kiswahili while in secondary schools the medium of instruction is English. As for the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning in the country they assume that since English is the medium of instruction in secondary schools, it must follow that English is the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning. Secondly, they indicated that English language has been the medium of instruction in the institutions

of higher learning ever since these institutions were established in the country. However, the respondents indicated that they had not seen any specific government directive or language policy document stipulating what medium of instruction to use in the institutions of higher learning in the country. However, examination of classroom practice showed that English was not the only language used in the higher education classrooms. For pragmatic and practical reasons, many lecturers systematically clarify points in Kiswahili.

The responses from the Commissioner of Education and Commissioner of Culture in the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) respectively were presented. MoEC is the parent ministry responsible for language policy in the country. The two executives indicated that they were aware of the language policy in the country. They were also aware of the fact that the current government directives regarding the media of instruction in primary and secondary schools are Kiswahili and English respectively. On the other hand, they were not aware of a particular directive regarding the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning. However, they argued that since English is the medium of instruction in secondary schools, then it follows that it is also the medium of higher education in the country.

Responses from Heads of institutions/departments outside SUA were as follows: Director of the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE), which prepares curricula for primary, secondary schools and teacher training colleges. Others were Chairman of the National Kiswahili Council (*BAKITA*), Director of Kiswahili Research Institute (*TUKI*), Head, Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics, University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and Principal, Ministry of Agriculture Training Institute (MATI), Mlingano, Tanga. In general the respondents indicated that they were aware of the current language use in Tanzania. For example they were aware that Kiswahili is the medium of instruction in primary schools and that English is currently the medium of instruction in secondary schools and in the institutions of higher learning. Furthermore, they indicated that they were aware of the fact that Kiswahili is the National and the

official language in Tanzania. However, they also indicated that they were not aware of specific government directive regarding the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning. They only assume that since English is the medium of instruction in secondary schools, then it follows that it is also the medium of higher education.

Responses from the Head teacher of private kindergarten/primary school English-medium indicated show that the policy of these schools is '*use English only in teaching all school subjects as a means of acquiring English language competence*'. To them therefore, the question of government language policy does not arise. It would seem the major aim of owners of these schools is to attract parents who are keen to see their children acquire English language competence and more importantly, those who can afford financially to send their children to these schools because the fee is too higher for ordinary Tanzanians.

In 4.6.9 responses from parents who have children in the English-medium kindergarten/primary schools were presented. These parents indicated that they were aware of the language practices in Tanzania. That is, Kiswahili is the National language (*Kiswahili ni Lugha ya Taifa*) and it is the language used in government offices (*Kiswahili ni lugha ya maofisini*). They are also aware that Kiswahili is the medium of primary education and English is the medium of instruction secondary schools and in the institutions of higher learning. Their replies showed their desire to give their children a head start in the English language.

From the above presentation, what is meant by '**lack of awareness of government language policy**'? Is it the current language practice in the education system and government offices as perceived by the policy and decision-makers? Is it the availability of government language policy documents regarding the medium of instruction in the education system to the key actors in education service? Is it awareness of usefulness of English language against Kiswahili and vice versa as the medium of education in Tanzania? How has '**lack of awareness of government**

language policy' contributed to the fact that there has been vacillation in language policy for the education system as pointed out in **Chapter One**? In other words, what does the word '**awareness**' mean to different people?

In Tanzania many people are aware of the language practice in schools and government offices. However, they may not be aware of the reasons as to why there is reluctance on the government side not to heed the recommendations of local experts to change the medium of instruction from English to Kiswahili in secondary schools and in the institutions of higher learning. It is important to point out here that formal education is a phenomenon introduced by the colonial system in Tanzania in the late 1890s – first by the German colonial administration and later by the British government. The present Tanzanian education system has therefore its roots in the British colonial education system. The reluctance by the decision-makers not to change to Kiswahili as the medium of instruction in Tanzanian education system therefore partly lies in this historical legacy of this formal education system. Said (1993) argues that Western culture and politics, co-operated knowingly or unknowingly, to produce a system of domination that involved more than cannons and soldiers – a sovereignty that extended over forms, imagery and the very imaginations of the dominators and the dominated – hence not merely European right to rule, but their obligation to rule. Thus whether the policy and decision-makers are aware or not of government language policy, past colonial history has a significant role to play in making a decision to change a medium of education. Furthermore, as shown by the age group of the respondents, almost all of them attended their formal education during the colonial days. During their school days, the colonial education system taught generation of the current native elite '*important truths about history, science and culture*' of their dominant colonial power while demoting the native history including their language. For example, as pointed out by Nyerere, the former President of the United Republic of Tanzania, that

Among many mistakes made by the colonial system is to make us believe that we (Africans) did not have our own culture, or if we had, then it was inferior to that of the European.

Nyerere 1967b:17)

Thus, policy makers, decision-makers and policy implementers may be aware of government language policy but may be reluctant to change the medium of instruction in the Tanzanian education system because of this colonial legacy. It seems the decision-makers and the general public in Tanzania have no faith in their own national heritage including indigenous languages such as Kiswahili in spite of the fact that Kiswahili has a long history. Moreover, it is a fact that it (Kiswahili) is the national and the official language and that it is widely use as a *lingua franca* over a large area of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa. The colonial legacy therefore partly answers the question why there has been a reluctance and/or vacillation in policy in changing the medium of instruction in the Tanzanian education system.

It is equally true that today the dominant culture of the West is very much active (knowingly and unknowingly) in dominating the world through its powerful media such as television, new technologies, new innovations and the globalisation process in general. Thus the elite in countries such as Tanzania (rightly) feel that Tanzania is part of this globalisation process. Because the medium of this globalisation process is English, countries such as Tanzania cannot afford to do without English. However, the question still remains, should this globalisation overrule on matters that sometimes may cost poor nations dearly? Thus, as it was the case during the colonial days, education remains the preserve of a small elite who can study through English. This is a difficult dilemma because English is, arguably, the key to modernity and has helped millions of people world-wide to grasp the fundamentals of modern life. However, this process, on the other hand, makes people in countries such as Tanzania depend on a language that is not their own and which is used by the minority of people with Tanzania for very limited and specific uses.

4.12 Limitations of the interpretations with regard to interviews.

There is no case study without its own limitations. In my study, there were certain limitations to the interviews. First and foremost, is the possibility that informants may

not give fully accurate information about their behaviours in language use. This is particularly true with regard to questions seeking personal opinions or their actual practice, such as language use in teaching in the classroom. Likewise, some of the interviewees may have not fully stated their attitudes towards the use of English as a medium of education in Tanzania because of the position they hold in government circles. They are constrained to give the government line in their functions as civil servants ^{and} to fully volunteer their personal opinions on such delicate issues might be very difficult for them. As a result, therefore, I needed to triangulate and obtain information from multiple sources to be in a position to provide the most accurate representation of the Tanzanian situation. The interviews could only be a part of the jigsaw showing knowledge, attitudes and behaviour with regard to this issue.

Secondly certain types of responses that cannot be verified or observed immediately may not also give us a true picture of the findings. For example, when a respondent says that they use one language in one situation and another language in another situation, it is very difficult to verify their claim. This was particularly true with my respondents from outside SUA with whom I spent only a couple of hours.

Thirdly, in the interviews we must also acknowledge the different interpretations that interviewees may have given to some of the concepts I evoked. For example, when we talked of 'code switching' what did that mean for them? Within the scope of what I was doing I could not pursue this line of enquiry but the variety of the practices behind the umbrella term code switching would be interesting to research. I suspect that it has multiple interpretations from simple tagswitching to self interpretation.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF DATA

5.0 Introduction

In this Chapter I am going to relate the data to the research questions set out earlier and begin to suggest some reason(s) for the findings. Based on the conceptual framework of data analysis presented in Chapter Three, I now propose to move to analyse the data presented in Chapter Four. As explained in the discussion of methodology, the research themes emerged in the course of the study, arising out of the interviewees' contribution and the study of the wider context. The data from these sources were collected under four main themes. The themes were closely linked to the purpose of the study as set out in the research questions, which was to investigate the implementation of language policy in Tanzania at an institutional level. The four themes were as follows: **patterns of language use; awareness of language policy; perception of the problem of use of English language as medium of education in Tanzania; and respondents' opinion about the use of English as medium of education in Tanzania.** In order to carry out the analysis, the main approach would be to present it theme by theme.

I shall now proceed to analyse the data under the four themes using in the investigation as shown in Chapter Four. This will be in line with the conceptual framework of data analysis presented in Chapter Three.

5.1 Language use

Sifting through the bulk of interview notes, observation of interaction during meetings of different committees and analysis of various documents it appears that there is complex bilingual situation where Kiswahili and English are used. In principle, each language has a defined role. As a result, a complex diglossia has emerged.

Analysis of the data shows that Kiswahili is the main language in informal one-to-one interaction – whether the interaction is between a member of academic staff and another member of academic staff, or between academic staff and non-academic staff. The same pattern of language use applies in offices. For example, when the VC, DVC, Registrar or Dean of Faculty gives instruction to his/her secretary, they do so in Kiswahili. The same would be found to be the case for student-staff interaction and will be discussed below.

The analysis further shows that Kiswahili is the official language of communication between the University administration and other government ministries and departments within Tanzania. This is in fact the overall government policy and directive to all its ministries and departments (see **Chapter One** for details). All documents are in Kiswahili. This is one area of Swahilisation where the policy has been introduced in all situations and is adhered to.

Members of the academic discourse community within SUA use English in the lecture rooms, as this is the assumed official medium of instruction of higher education. In most of their official communication with the University's higher authorities, especially on academic matters they again use English. It is also used by SUA academics as the language of wider communication with the outside world or international agencies and embassies within Tanzania. SUA academics and researchers use English as the language of wider communication for dissemination of their research findings and reports. However, the data also reveal that within lecture rooms, code switching and code mixing (between English and Kiswahili) seems to be a common practice especially when lecturers 'think' that the subject matter was not clear by observing blank faces as feedback from their students⁶⁹. This was observed to occur when students pose questions Kiswahili, which indicated that the subject matter was not clear. It was also observed to occur in summarising the lecture.

⁶⁹ The practice may be limited to a few lecturers and therefore calls for further research in future.

English is used in teaching in the classroom most of the time. One-to-one meetings with students which, are not a common feature of this education system take place in Kiswahili for the most part.

The responses also show that Kiswahili is the main language of interaction with visitors from outside the University except when such visitors are from outside Tanzania or from international agencies within Tanzania (particularly if such visitors from these agencies are non-Tanzanians). When SUA management contacts international or foreign bodies outside Tanzania the language of communication is English.

English is used in most committee meetings, particularly committees handling academic matters. It was also noted that in committee meetings involving academic and non-academic staff, code switching and code mixing was more frequent than meetings involving academic members of staff alone⁷⁰. On the other hand, the University Workers' Council and the University Council, which is the University governing body and which endorses different University policies use Kiswahili during its sessions. Code mixing and code switching between Kiswahili and English was also noted as a common practice among Council members.

Documents from files such as correspondence between SUA management and members of SUA community use both English and Kiswahili as described above. Similarly, written announcements, notices, advertisements etc. by the University management uses both English and Kiswahili.

SUA provides an unusual situation in Tanzania where English is not usually a working language. The exceptions to this general rule are only transnational corporations and

⁷⁰ There is a need to carry out a research to find out the reasons for this phenomenon. Code switching and code mixing was also noted during *Bunge* (Parliament) sessions as presented on the television.

international agencies. It does mean that the academic respondents have more need for English and more exposure to it than most Tanzanians, which explains their general support for English as the medium of education (see below).

Staff and students from SUA who are in contact with the farming communities for research or dissemination of good farming practice must use Kiswahili. It was noted that many had difficulty in expressing concepts learnt in English in Kiswahili.

5.2 Awareness of Language policy

5.2.1 Level of knowledge about the policies on language in education among top SUA managers.

The target group for this particular question was the top academic managers at SUA. They were the Vice Chancellor (VC), Deputy Vice Chancellor (DVC), Registrar and Deans of Faculties/Directors of institutes. Item two of the questionnaire focussed on the awareness of language policy in general and language in education in the institutions of higher learning in the country.

The main reason for this theme was to find out if there is any government directive to instruct SUA management on what language to use in offices and what language to use in teaching and research, within and outside the University. What we learn from the data is that the academic managers in the institutions of higher learning are aware of the fact that the official language and the national language in Tanzania is Kiswahili. They are also aware that the official language in Government offices is Kiswahili. As for the medium of instruction they are aware that in primary schools the medium is Kiswahili while in secondary schools the medium is English. As for the medium of instruction in institutions of higher learning in the country they assume that, since English is the medium of instruction in secondary schools, it must follow that English is the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning. Furthermore, they indicated that English has been the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning ever since these institutions were established in the country. The respondents also reported that they had not seen any specific government directive or language

policy document stipulating what medium of instruction to use in the institutions of higher learning in the country. Most of the respondents did not point out the vacillation in the government language policy with regard to shifting to Kiswahili as a medium of secondary and higher education. It would seem that that they were not interested in the debate on language policy and/ or did not feel concerned by it

They were supportive of the *status quo* and felt English should be retained as the medium of secondary and higher education. This, again, is not surprising, as higher education is one of the sectors of society highly affected by globalisation and the spread of English, to which subject I will return below. Use of English keeps SUA open to the outside world, as the current world *lingua franca* is also the medium the English. English is important for research and for careers. Maintaining English will of course protect the pyramid system identified as a problem in Chapter One.

It is important to note here that most of the people who are now the leading managerial and academic members of staff at SUA today were most probably at school or universities during the early days of independence when Kiswahili was made the official and national language. They may not therefore have seen the actual Government directive issued at that time. When they started to join the world of work, they found the current practice in place⁷¹.

5.2.2 Level of knowledge about the policies on language in education among top executives in the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC).

The responses from the Commissioner of Education and Commissioner of Culture in the Ministry of Education (MoEC) respectively were presented. The two executives indicated that they were aware of the language policy in the country. Of course MoEC is the parent ministry responsible for language policy in the country. They were also aware of the fact that the current government directives regarding the media of

⁷¹ Most of the chief protagonists at SUA joined the world of work in mid-1970s. (This can be deduced by a cursory look at their age groups).

instruction in primary and secondary schools designate Kiswahili and English respectively. On the other hand, they were not aware of a particular directive regarding the medium of instruction in institutions of higher learning. However, they argued that since English is the medium of secondary education, then it follows that it is also the medium of higher education in the country. In contrast to the academics at SUA they were far more supportive of possible Swahilisation. This is again not surprising. These men are not academics wanting to access information from international research community or even possibly contribute to the community but officers of a national government, which has as its ongoing policy the desire to promote and extend the use of the national language. Again the age of this group represents the first generation of adult independent Tanzanians. It is an interesting group because they were recruited into the bureaucracy during the nation-building era.

5.2.3 Level of knowledge about the policies on language in education among

Heads of institutions/departments outside SUA.

Heads of institutions/departments from outside SUA were as follows: Director of the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE), Chairman of National Kiswahili Council (*BAKITA*), Director of the Institute of Kiswahili Research (*TUKI*), Head of Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics, University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and Principal, Ministry of Agriculture Training Institute (MATI), Mlingano, Tanga. In general the respondents indicated that they were aware of the current language use in Tanzania. For example, they are aware that Kiswahili is the medium of instruction of primary education while English is the medium of instruction of secondary and higher education. However, they indicated that they were not aware of specific government directive regarding the medium of instruction in the institutions of higher learning. They only assume that since English is the medium of secondary education, then it follows that it is also the medium of higher education. Those linked to the agricultural community were more open and supportive of Swahilisation. Respondents made the point that students from SUA were often not able to explain technical matters to peasant farmers because they did not have the requisite vocabulary

in Kiswahili. This seems to be a grave deficiency and counters the philosophy of cascading knowledge necessary to the country and economic development. If one only educates a few, those few must be in a position to disseminate (see Nyerere's quote above).

5.2.4 Level of knowledge about the policies on language in education among the Head Teachers of private English-medium kindergarten/primary schools

Responses from the head teachers of private English-medium kindergarten/primary schools show that the policy of these schools is to *'use English only in teaching all subjects as a means of acquiring and reinforcing English language competence'*. To them therefore, the question of government language policy does not arise. It would seem the major aim of owners of these schools is to attract rich parents who are keen to see their children acquire English language competence and who can afford the fees. Obviously this group is pro- English at all levels. These school proprietors have a vested interest in secondary and higher education remaining in English medium because private primary education prepares students for it. One might wonder why this group does not support Swahilisation. Cynically, they might see an opportunity to provide secondary education too, as there are indications that this group would like to provide English-medium secondary schools in the event of implementation of Swahilisation⁷².

5.2.5 Level of knowledge about policies on language in education among parents who send their children to private English-medium kindergarten/primary schools.

Parents who send their children to private English-medium kindergarten/primary schools indicated that were generally aware of language practices in Tanzania. That

⁷² For example, in personal communication with the owner of St. Mary's Nursery and Primary School, Kimara, there were clear indication that, in the event of Swahilisation, he would extend his school into an English-medium secondary school (Personal communication with F. Bayi, Chairman, St. Mary's Nursery and Primary School, May 1999).

Kiswahili is the national language and language used in government offices. They also indicated that Kiswahili is the medium of primary education while English is used as the medium of secondary and higher education. It is no surprise that both teachers and parents in these schools support English at all levels of education. The parents were not a representative sample, merely illustrative, but very interesting in that they came from the academic circles which had already shown preference for English; mixed race couples for whom English functions as *lingua franca*; the business community and families who are part of globalisation and who travel for work purposes. They were all ambitious parents.

Very revealing replies from parents illustrate a number of phenomena. Unfortunately because these avenues opened up in the course of research, the comments have to be taken as illustrative. As they were not built into the interview design and the sample is not scientifically representative, they must only be taken as indicative. However, they seem very revealing. For example, one parent said that Kiswahili was not the language to which he had emotional attachment. This was his first language. Therefore, it was easier for him to make the decision to move the family to English. Another parent reports that she is in a mixed marriage and that English seems appropriate and useful in such a situation. This could also hold true of Kiswahili in intranational mixed marriage. As people become more mobile and marry out of their linguistic group it will be interesting to see whether Kiswahili or English provides the family with the language.

All the parents expressed the opinion that there is a need for English if their children were to be successful.

5.3 Perception of the problem of using English as the medium of education in the institution of higher learning in Tanzania.

The perception of the problem of English as the medium of education in the institutions of higher learning through subject specialist personal experiences (when

they mark students' essays in term papers, examinations and laboratory reports) is that the students' English is poor and the level is in decline.

This is supported by documentary evidence from the external examiners' reports on students' performance in the end-of-year examinations which I studied. The practice at SUA and other institutions of higher learning in Tanzania is to invite a subject specialist in each respective degree programme/field to moderate the internal examiners' setting of questions and marking of scripts⁷³. The external examiners' reports are taken seriously and are normally discussed by Faculty Boards, UGSC, Senate, and finally by the University Council which endorses the University examination results. Faculties/departments and ultimately specialists are advised to take corrective measures, where applicable and report back to the higher committees of the University. The problem of poor English features widely in reports of the external examiners that I consulted.

In a wider context, i.e. at the national level, the problem is also widely being debated in different national forums such as conferences/workshops⁷⁴ organised by local educational institutions and international agencies, Education Ministry, in the newspapers, radios and more recently, on the television⁷⁵. The problem is also accentuated in other national development reports⁷⁶. From these reports we can say with confidence that the problem of using English as medium of education in Tanzania

⁷³ This practice is common in other universities in Africa since experience shows that SUA lecturers also participate as external examiners of universities in the neighbouring countries (especially in the SADC) where the English is the medium in the institutions of higher learning.

⁷⁴ For example the International Kiswahili Conference 2000 organised by TUKI in March 2000 and the International Conference on African Languages held in Asmara, Eritrea in 2000. Earlier, in 1996 a Pan-African seminar whose theme was "*Problems and Prospect of the Use of African Languages in Education*" was held in Accra, Ghana from August 26 – 30 1996.

⁷⁵ For example, on 3rd May 1999 there was a live debate on Television (ITV), Dar es Salaam, on the falling standards of education in Tanzania, which was held at UDSM. The participants were not only the academicians from the Faculty of Education at UDSM, but also people from ordinary walks of life. Among other things, the participants pointed out that English language was a barrier to acquisition of knowledge. The debate was conducted in Kiswahili. However, a lot of code mixing and code switching was noted during the debate, mostly from the academicians and very little from ordinary speakers.

⁷⁶ For example the Tanzania Human Development Report, which was published in December 2000.

is real and should not be underestimated, as was the case with some interviewees (see above interview with Director of Research and Postgraduate Studies).

5.4 Personal Opinion of the respondents regarding the use of English as the medium of instruction in institutions of higher learning in Tanzania.

Sifting through the data, two camps emerge on the question of using English as the medium of education in Tanzania in general. The camps once again reflect the two sides observable in the public debate about the issue. There are those who support English as the medium of education in secondary schools and institutions of higher learning. That is, they would prefer the current *status quo* to remain. Secondly, there are those who think that the change to Kiswahili as the medium of education is desirable and imminent. I shall elaborate the opinion of the two camps.

Respondents who prefer a shift to Kiswahili as the medium of education pointed out that *"the continued of English as the medium of education in Tanzania does not necessarily make our students more educated"*. They also believe that it is undemocratic to continue to use English as the medium of instruction because it contributes to the elitist nature of the Tanzanian secondary education system. These latter opinions reflect what was pointed out in Chapter One; that is, less than 15% of all those enrolled at Primary 1 (P1) make their way into the secondary school education system and again only a fraction of these make their way into post-secondary education. English is a barrier to entry along with financial constraints and limited places. Those who make their way into secondary education then face the problem of change in the language of education. Speaking of those who go to secondary schools, Barret (1994) points out that a

Tanzanian student wastes his/her four years of secondary school education learning not to think, copying from the blackboard things he does not understand. As a result: dull classes, low morale in learning (p.14).

On the other hand, the conservatives who prefer the current system whereby English continues to be the medium of education argue that to abandon it would be disastrous for future generations and Tanzania's economic, social and political development. Their main argument is based on globalisation and technological advancement, particularly in information technology (IT) (see **Chapter Six** for discussion on globalisation). Not mentioned directly by all respondents but highly relevant is the issue of cultural capital. This group has English. Its children have English. This bestows advantage. The educational entrepreneurs and parents who run and support the private primary schools are, on the one hand, quite explicit that they are for English because it gives economic and social advantage.

5.5 Classroom observation

Classroom observation shows that some lecturers have a tendency to give explanation in Kiswahili particularly when responding to students' questions. They also tend to summarise the lecture in Kiswahili. The four lectures I observed all illustrate the problems that the respondents evoked and which fuel the debate among the public. The lack of confidence in using English among students results in code switching in some cases and silence in others. There is clearly a communication gap here. These students appear not to have mastered English to the level necessary to pursue their studies without linguistic hindrance. This contrasts with what is reported from the past when language standards were allegedly higher. In the early days of independence period (1961–67) upper primary education was in English which could account for the perception of better English language skills. A further reason which I advance may stem from the current student body's belief that English is of little use to them. They do not get Division One in the National Form Four Examinations if they fail in Kiswahili. However, a failure in English is not sanctioned. This sends a message about the relative importance of the two languages. This is underscored by the experience of those who graduate and who mostly use Kiswahili in their careers. Very few need English. These messages are at loggerheads with the requirement to use English in Education. Again these ideas arose in the course of research and have been explored in

a way that can only give illustrative evidence. A systematic enquiry about attitudes among secondary school and higher education learners would illuminate the debate and will form part of my recommendations

5.6 Documentary evidence

Documentary evidence (as shown in the **Annexes**) shows that at SUA both English and Kiswahili are used in communication within and outside SUA. Similarly, minutes of University committee meetings are written in English and Kiswahili.

As for students' language competence in written English there are students with severe difficulties. This is revealed when they are required to demonstrate their knowledge through English e.g. in the end-of-year University examinations, term papers or laboratory/field reports. Examiners' and subject teachers' reports persistently point out this problem.

5.7 Conclusion

These findings suggest that the current debate on language is founded on a real appreciation of a profound problem. Two things are clear. First, the quality of secondary education is falling because of the English language problem. Second, as a result, the demand for private English-medium kindergarten/primary schools has become an option for those who can afford it (see Chapter Six for discussion on this topic).

Some respondents pointed out that the fact that in Tanzania both English and Kiswahili are 'foreign languages' because every child is born into a specific ethnic group and acquires the language of that group as their mother tongue (see Chapter Two on language acquisition). When they go to school they encounter first Kiswahili as the medium of instruction in Primary One (P1), and then English, which is taught as a subject in primary schools, and later as medium of instruction in secondary and higher education. This group, therefore, argues that why not introduce English as

medium of education in primary schools as is the case in the neighbouring countries such as Kenya, Malawi and Zimbabwe? The interviews with parents who send their children to English-medium primary schools illustrate the lack of emotional commitment to Kiswahili that may exist among the Tanzanian population.

In conclusion, therefore, we can understand why the Swahilisation policy has not yet been implemented. There is no general consensus that it should be. On the one hand, parents are ambitious for their children, academics are convinced English is absolutely essential for access to the wider world, and a general and growing appreciation of the demands of the globalising world all support the *status quo*, where English is the medium of secondary education, and many in this camp would even extend it to primary. This group imagines that the current English language problem will right itself, given time and funding.

In the other camp are the Tanzanians who see Kiswahili as a key factor in national identity, who wish to see its use extended into secondary education. Kiswahili is an ideological choice to a certain extent because it symbolises the break with the colonial period and the independence of the nation. Swahilisation of secondary education system responds to the needs of students who have already spent seven years in the Kiswahili medium primary schools and who will, in most cases, already have made the move to Kiswahili from their mother tongue. Swahilisation in the higher education would aid the cascading of knowledge from the agricultural university to the agricultural sector, although this group recognises that there would be a cost in terms of access to technology and science published only in English. I was initially expecting a larger number of respondents to fall into this camp and was surprised at the relatively low numbers I found. This may be explained perhaps by the changing situation – the internationalisation and globalisation that I will discuss in the next chapter.

In addition to this clear dichotomy, there is another interesting point to be made about these findings. The respondents have mostly turned out to be from the generation that

became the first adult citizens of independent Tanzania. Most were educated, however, under the colonial system.

FOR THE FINDINGS

4.5 Summary of findings

The findings from this study show that at all levels interviewees seemed to be aware of the fact that Kiswahili is the official and the national language in Tanzania. They are also aware of the fact that at present the Tanzanian government language policy regarding the medium of instruction in primary schools is Kiswahili and in secondary schools is English. They also assume that the medium in the institutions of higher learning is English by default. However, on the other hand, most interviewees/Key actors in the education sector seemed conscious of, or are miser-faire, on decisions taken by the government to change the medium of instruction from English to Kiswahili at secondary and possibly at higher education level. I have already noted the frustration of government and the failure of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MHEC) to implement proposals for *Swahilisation* in general (see Chapter One). It appears from these interviews that it is indeed true that these policies and measures have not filtered through to practitioners themselves. This seems to provide clear evidence of lack of will within government circles, and more particularly the education ministry, to ensure the implementation of *Swahilisation* to the education system in the country as recommended by a number of local (Tanzanian) experts.⁷

Similarly the study has reported that since independence from Britain in 1961, Tanzania has attempted some socio-economic and cultural transformation such as the Five-Year Economic and Social Development Programme (1964 - 1980), the Arusha Declaration and the introduction of universal primary education (UPE). The fact that Tanzania gained her independence from Britain and the subsequent socio-

⁷ The role of African languages has been debated widely within Africa. For example, a Pan-African Seminar on the Problems and Prospects of the Use of African Languages in Education under the aegis of the OAU was held from 28 - 30 August 1996 in Accra, Ghana. Among the participants were Ministers of Education from African countries.

CHAPTER SIX

FURTHER ANALYSIS AND IDENTIFICATION OF POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THE FINDINGS

6.0 Summary of findings

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Similarly the study has reported that since independence from Britain in 1961, Tanzania has attempted some socio-economic and cultural transformation such as the Fifteen – Year Economic and Social Development Programme (1964 – 1980), the Arusha Declaration and the introduction of universal primary education (UPE). The fact that Tanzania gained her independence from Britain and the subsequent socio-

⁷⁷ The role of African languages has been debated widely within Africa. For example, a Pan-African Seminar on the Problems and Prospects of the Use of African Languages in Education under the aegis of the OAU was held from 26 – 30 August 1996 in Accra, Ghana. Among the participants were Ministers of Education from African countries.

economic transformations including the Cultural Revolution, that swept many newly independent states, called into question the continued use of English as medium of instruction in the country's education system (see **Chapter One**). However, despite several Tanzanian government policy statements to change the medium of instruction in secondary schools and higher education there seem to be no concerted efforts to put these (policy) statements into practice. I shall now discuss some of the possible reasons as to why the *status quo* has been maintained.

6.1.0 Discussion

Why are the key actors in the education service not pushing for the *Swahilisation* of the medium of education at all levels in Tanzania, since this is clearly government policy? Why are those who are high up in the decision-making process either blocking this process or not taking steps to further it? From the findings it is difficult to ascertain reasons for this because subjects showed themselves to be either unaware of government policy or lacking in motivation to pursue it. Thus it will be necessary to step outside the research to suggest some reasons for this state of affairs as none were proffered.

One reason seems to be that the colonial heritage is very much at work despite the fact that it is now four decades since Tanzania attained her independence from Britain. The main reason for this legacy is the fact that the most senior bureaucrats, managers and educators who are currently in power were mostly trained during the British colonial period (prior to 1961) or in the case of the younger men attained their qualifications in an English-medium system (either within or outside Tanzania). Through this education and training these members of the ruling elite have accumulated cultural capital (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). According to Bourdieu, cultural capital occurs when an elite group reproduces itself not through the passing on of wealth or guaranteed position, but through the passing on of language, knowledge and culture. This permits the younger generation to take up positions and fill functions at the top of the hierarchical scale, which their parents had held before them. Because fluency in the

English language is a prerequisite for success at secondary in Tanzania, it could be said that the elite groups who can help their children acquire this English language proficiency are not going to constitute the class that agitates for change. Rubagumya (1994) succinctly explains this phenomenon as follows:

The use of English in "developing" countries creates conditions that help to maintain inequality within those countries. The elitist school system ensures that English is available to the minority. This minority wields considerable political and economic power. For the majority, the English is a gatekeeping mechanism which, holds them back socially, politically and economically, thus maintaining the privileged position of the elite. This is, by and large, the function of English in "Anglophone" Africa.

(Rubagumya 1994: 156)

The situation in Tanzania bears out this hypothesis as the following examples testify.

Firstly there has been an increasing number of private English-medium kindergarten and primary schools in the recent past (after privatisation of the public systems in the early 1990s, which was a shift from the earlier socialist policy pursued under the Arusha Declaration see p. 27). The motivation for parents in sending their children to such schools is to ensure that pupils who join secondary education after this grounding have no English language barrier and are more likely to be successful in pursuing secondary education. These schools are only to be found in the urban areas and the fees are exorbitantly high by standards of ordinary Tanzanian families. Thus access to these schools is reserved for those who live in towns and who are well off. The phenomenon is middle and upper class.

The expectation that such schooling will ensure children's success is made the message in the following advertisement (in the local English newspaper), which sells the advantages in terms of career for the child who attends such a school.

ENGLISH MEDIUM ACADEMY
OPENING INFANT CLASSES FROM JULY 1ST 1999
Go for easy way to manage your child. If your child is 2 or 3 years old proceed and register now for modern quality led education. English Medium Academy will lay a solid foundation for your child.

Our high academic standards are maintained by a highly competent staff. And our fees will make you smile!! Children live what they learn. Children learn what they live. Classes are small. We believe in manageable numbers not in mass production!

REGISTER TODAY!!

We have also started registration for our September intake for grades 1 to 9.

And from September Hold your breath! SPANISH will be taught in addition to French. There you are, those of you who want your children to have it easy in North America.

Haile Selasie Road (a few metres past Oysterbay Hospital)

Tel: 600679/601728

Fax: 60250

E-mail: ema@raha.com

(Source: An advertisement in the newspaper: Tanzania Daily News 19.04.1999, see also **Annexes 2 and 3**).

It is interesting that in addition to English which is not mentioned (everyone understands that it is the medium of this kind of education) the children will have access to Spanish and French. The advantage of mobility is added to other advantages which are taken as understood.

Secondly, many upper and middle class Tanzanians (particularly top government officials) 'vote with their feet' and send their children to the neighbouring countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Malawi or South Africa where the medium of education is English. (In fact this process started in the 1980s after Tanzanian urban groups began to be dissatisfied with the quality of primary education in the country (see p.12 – 13, see also **Annexes 2 and 3**). This was partly because it was offered in the medium of Kiswahili and partly because it put more emphasis on agriculture and other self-reliance activities as stipulated in the ESR document). Even children at early primary level are sent across the border to these schools. This practice is even encouraged as financial help is offered as part of top government officials' salaries. (This is particularly true of Ministers and other presidential appointees such as Ministries' Permanent Secretaries and Directors). Indeed President Mkapa seemed to show his

approval of this practice when on a state visit to Kenya he used the fact that many Tanzanian children are educated in Kenya as a proof of the improving relations between the two states. (Source: President Mkapa's Speech at the State Banquet in his honour by President Moi of Kenya, *Tanzania Daily News*, March 1997)⁷⁸. Certainly the practice is well established and does not seem to attract disapproval.

In addition to buying English medium education for their children, rich urban Tanzanians are also in a position to provide access to English medium television. Such families are also most likely to own a computer and have access to the (mainly English) Internet.

All this contrasts most vividly with the situation for the majority of Tanzanians. Ordinary workers and peasants in Tanzania can hardly afford to send their children to government schools despite the low level of fees in such establishments. Two examples will help to illustrate this. In May 1999 primary school pupils in Kinondoni District, Dar es Salaam marched to the district headquarters after they were refused admission to the end-of-term examination because they could not pay the UPE contribution of TSh. 200 (about 20p) (*Tanzania Daily News*, 20th May 1999). Similarly, in October 1999 parents in Dar es Salaam expressed their anger at the City Council administration after they had endorsed head teachers in primary schools to charge a registration fee of TSh. 20,000 (about £ 20) (*Tanzania Daily News*, 9 October 1999, also see **Annex 9**).

The second main reason for the continuing dominance of English in the secondary education system is the pressure on the Tanzanian government by donor countries. For example, the findings of Criper and Dodd regarding the state of English language as medium of instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools and tertiary education were

⁷⁸ The relationship between Tanzania and Kenya (and Uganda) deteriorated in the seventies leading to the collapse of the East African Community, partly because Tanzania was at that time pursuing socialist policy while it was not the case in Kenya, and partly, because of the military regime in Uganda

similar to those of the Tanzanian local experts. However, Criper and Dodd differed from the local experts in their recommendations (see p.38 and 40). As a way to arrest the language problem pointed out in their report, they recommended an ELTSP. This project had a life span of ten years only (1986 – 1996) (see p.40). The British Government funded the ELTSP on one condition: that English continued as the medium of instruction in secondary schools as recommended by Criper and Dodd. The project focused on the Reading Programme (RP) where the main objective was to provide reading materials for secondary schools. Most of these materials were brought from England and were sometimes irrelevant to the Tanzanian culture. Most of the books provided under this scheme were in poor physical conditions by the end of the project mainly because they were poorly bound. As pointed out, the project is now over and there are no indications that it will be renewed. Some respondents in this study have questioned the relevance of this project. Instead they put forward some questions such as “suppose the same funding was spent on implementing the Swahilisation process of the medium of instruction in secondary schools and higher education as recommended by the local experts?” They further argued that, TUKI has already translated from English to Kiswahili most books currently in use in secondary schools in all subjects. However, because the Tanzanian Government has no funds to print them, the proposals are rusting in the TUKI cabinets. The experts concluded that the same funding could therefore have been used to print these books. This could have made the process of Swahilisation on the move by now, as had been decided by the government. Here is a clearly, hopeless situation with the government unable to implement its language policy, because of external pressure and dependence on external funding.

As was pointed out earlier, in 1996 the President of the United Republic of Tanzania had indicated that the Cabinet had already endorsed the process of *Swahilisation* of the medium of instruction (see p.46- 47). However, at the opening of the meeting on the Education Sector Reform and Development Programme in March 1999 the President had to tone down his speech when he addressed the representatives of the

Donor Countries on the issue of the medium of instruction. One of the reasons for this backtracking is because some donors had threatened to withdraw their funding if the *Swahilisation* process were to be implemented. In fact the British Council promised that the British Government would fund a similar project to ELTSP in Tanzanian primary schools if the government scrapped the *Swahilisation* process in their presentation during the meeting of the Education Sector Reform and Development Programme mentioned above⁷⁹. This is seen as yet another U-turn from the earlier government decision. It also makes it doubtful if the government will be able to go ahead to implement the **1997 Cultural Policy**. This is another clear indication that the Tanzanian government is powerless in implementing its own policies even if such policies could bring rapid economic, cultural and social development in the society. It further clearly supports the hypothesis mentioned earlier that "language policy is a product of a higher policy which is sometimes outside the national boundaries" (Phillipson, 1992).

One has to consider why the Tanzanian authorities have bowed to this pressure. One must ask whether the offer of finance can really be so influential as to make the government change its mind on a key policy. Perhaps it is not simply the question of funding, even though Tanzania does have financial difficulties.

To understand the government's apparent reversal on this issue we must turn now to the wider context in which Tanzania has to operate.

6.1.1 Globalisation and Nationalism

The most important reason as to why decision-makers in Tanzania seem to hesitate to change the medium of instruction in secondary and higher education is the social-economic globalisation process, which is currently affecting all nations. I shall first present a brief account of this process according to some authorities.

⁷⁹ Source: Personal communication with the Commissioner of Culture in the Ministry of Education and Culture during the interview on 21.4.1999

According to Held *et al* (1999) globalisation may be thought of initially as the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from the cultural to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual (p. 2). Held (2000) points out that there are three theoretical positions in the literature on globalisation that can be identified. They are globalism (*hyperglobalizers*), traditionalism (*sceptics*) and transformationalism (*transformationalists*).

Globalists (e.g. Ohmae, 1990, 1995) argue that we live in an increasingly global age in which states are being subjected to huge economic and political processes of change. It is a new era in which peoples everywhere are increasingly subject to the disciplines of the global market place. This is because economic globalisation is bringing about 'denationalisation' of economies through the establishment of transnational networks of production, trade and finance. Held (*op. cit.*) further points out that in this borderless economy, national governments are relegated to little more than transmission belts for global capital or, ultimately, simple intermediate institutions sandwiched between increasingly powerful local, regional and global mechanisms of governance (Held *et. al.* 1999:3). These processes are eroding and fragmenting nation-states and diminishing the power of the state managers and personnel. In these circumstances states are increasingly 'decision takers' and not 'decision makers'. This position is echoed by Strange (1996) who points out that 'the impersonal forces of the world markets are now more powerful than the states to whom ultimate political authority over society and economy is supposed to belong ... the decline in authority of states is reflected in a growing diffusion of authority to other institutions and associations, and to local and regional bodies' (Strange 1996:4). Held (*op. cit.*) concludes that in this respect, many hyperglobalisers share a conviction that economic globalisation is constructing new forms of social organisations that are supplanted, or will eventually supplant, traditional nation-states as primary economic and political units of the world society (Held *op. cit.*: 3). As a result of this globalisation process,

Held (op. cit.: 4) points out that among the elites and 'knowledge workers' of the new global economy tacit transitional class allegiances have evolved, cemented by an ideological attachment to a neoliberal economic orthodoxy

The traditionalists on the other hand strongly resist this view and believe that this (globalisation process) has reinforced and enhanced state powers. They argue that rather than being out of control, the forces of internationalisation themselves depend on the regulatory power of national governments to ensure continuing economic liberalisation (Held op. cit.: 5).

The transformationalists take a different position. For example, transformationalists such as Giddens (1990), Scholte (1993) and Castells (1996) argue that globalisation is a central driving force behind the rapid social, political and economic changes that are reshaping modern societies and world order. Held (1999) concludes that in this respect, globalisation is conceived as a powerful transformative force which is responsible for a massive shake-out of societies, economies, institutions of governance and world order (Held 1999:7). He further points out that at the core of the transformationalist case is the belief that contemporary globalisation is reconstituting or 're-engineering' the power, functions and authority of national governments (Held, op. cit.: 8)

In a nutshell therefore, globalisation may be thought of as increasing integration of the world economy, society and culture. This, however, reduces the capacity of national states to follow policies that diverge from those of international capital and institutions (cf Chomsky, 1999: *Profit over People*).

6.1.2 Globalisation and English

These analyses would lead us to surmise that most authorities foresee the weakening if not demise of the nation-state. It would thus seem that *Swahilisation*, which must be seen as a fact of Tanzanian nation building process, might well be undermined. The

doctrine of national language for a national group, which was prevalent in nationalist modernity (see **Chapter One**), may not be so easy to implement in an era of post modern globalisation. For example in the post-independent era, the Government of Tanzania placed great importance on the expansion of adult education. The programmes sought not only to promote skills, like literacy in Kiswahili, but also were directed at “consciousness raising”, including principles of hygiene, agricultural techniques, crafts, basic mathematics and the principles of *UJAMAA* (Kaplan, 1978). The fact that adult literacy campaigns were conducted in Kiswahili enhanced not only the expansion of Kiswahili at the village level but also the spirit of national unity).

Wright (2000) examines the progressive globalisation of human affairs in the second half of the twentieth century. She points out that growing political internationalism, an increasing acceptance of intervention in the internal affairs of the state, economic globalisation, continuous technological advance and a popular perception of cultural convergence have denationalised many aspects of national life (p.79). To sum up this globalisation process, Wright (op. cit.) concludes that globalisation seems to constitute global Anglicisation (p.102)⁸⁰. Global Anglicisation is enhanced by the predominantly American ownership of key resources for the manufacture and transmission of culture, including satellite systems, information technology manufacture, news agencies, the advertising industry, television programme production and export, and the film industry. Currently, Hollywood films dominate in the cinemas (Holton, 1998:167). Almost all of them are produced in English.

Second, today the world is moving towards a single capitalist world economy under multinational corporations, which for most part have promoted English as the *lingua franca* of international capitalism (Pennycook, 1995). The capitalist system has become global in part through technological advance. This is particularly true in the

⁸⁰ Cf. The spread of Kiswahili in Tanzania, Eastern and Central Africa during the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century as a result of slave and ivory trade by the Arabs and later the colonisation by the Europeans.

case of information technology, telecommunication and audio-visual media which are of growing importance. Furthermore, after the privatisation of the public institutions in Tanzania in the early nineties, most of them have either been purchased outright by foreign multinational corporations or in partnership with the local bourgeoisie. For example, the former National Bank of Commerce (NBC) and the Co-operative and Rural Development Bank (CRDB) are both partly owned by foreign international banks. Also privatisation has led to foreign multinational companies opening their branches in Tanzania and creating a new Tanzanian economic community which is basically an arm of the larger capitalist world economy. All these firms have to communicate with their headquarters and or other companies in other parts of the world. Most businesses are now linked to the Dar es Salaam Stock Exchange (DSE) which is linked to other world financial markets by means of banking and investment systems. All transaction is carried out electronically by computers. The main language of these institutions in carrying out these transactions is English.

Cochrane have characterised these as:

- the stretching of social and economic relations;
- the intensification of communication and other linkages;
- the interpenetration of economic and social practices;
- the emergence of global infrastructure.

(Cochrane and Pain, in Held 2000:42).

From the preceding discussion on globalisation, it is evident that whatever decisions are made at the national level may not be implemented because of the processes happening at international or supra national level. There is no country in the world which can isolate itself from the globalisation process, however fast or slow, this is progressing. Thus *Swahilisation* of the education system is unlikely to find favour among the educated and business elites in Tanzania, as they become aware of the implications of globalisation. Ambitious parents see the need for their children to

master English to succeed in this new situation and planners must remember the basic rule of language planning proposed by Khubchandani (1983):

The changes envisaged have to be in tune with wider social trends (p.107).

So in a situation of globalisation the strategies to build the nation may wither

6.1.3 English in Africa

English links Tanzania to its neighbours such as Zambia Kenya and Uganda and to the wider outside world. Tanzania is a member to many international organisations such as the UNO, UNESCO, GATT, and the Commonwealth. Within Africa, it is a member state to the Organisation of the African Unity (OAU) (whose major official languages are English and French). In almost all meetings of the above mentioned world bodies, Tanzanian delegates use English.

As far as economic groupings within Africa are concerned, Tanzania is a member of Southern African Development Co-operation (SADC). It is also a member of the (recently revamped) East African Community (EAC) re-inaugurated on July 7th 2000. EAC was first inaugurated on December 1st 1967 but collapsed in 1977. Other member states are Kenya and Uganda. In the process of reviving the East African Community recently, political leaders (including Heads of State) and leaders of the business community from the partner countries met. Leaders of the Tanzania Chamber Commerce, Industries and Agriculture (TCCIA) and prominent businessmen were among the Tanzanian representatives. What emerged from this meeting clearly showed that many of the Tanzanian delegates could not participate effectively in the discussion because it was conducted in English.⁸¹

If Tanzania wishes to gain economically her representatives must be able to negotiate effectively in economic forums where the medium of negotiation is mainly English. As far as SADC is concerned its member states are from the Southern African Countries

⁸¹ Source: *Tanzania Daily News* 9.7.1999

and mainly use English as the official language in meetings. One of the aims of regional economic groupings is to form a strong economic community to trade among themselves and also with other world economic communities such as the European Union (EU). Furthermore, in order to improve the living conditions, the financial situations and wealth of each nation, member states in the economic communities mentioned above have recognised a need for modernisation and industrialisation on co-operation basis. It is therefore imperative that for full participation, the language factor in any joint meetings cannot be ignored by the member states. And so far English language seems to play the role of *lingua franca*.

Thus, all the features of globalisation process affect Tanzania in one way or another. Tanzania cannot isolate itself or shut its door from what is happening in the rest of the world because modern technology such as radio, television and Internet knows no state boundaries. There already exists a class of elite in Tanzania which is part of the wider international elite and knowledge workers of the new global economy whose main language of operation is English.

From the pragmatic point of view therefore it would seem a necessity that a class of Tanzanians be fluent in English so that they are capable of fulfilling the function of bridge to the outside world and new technologies.

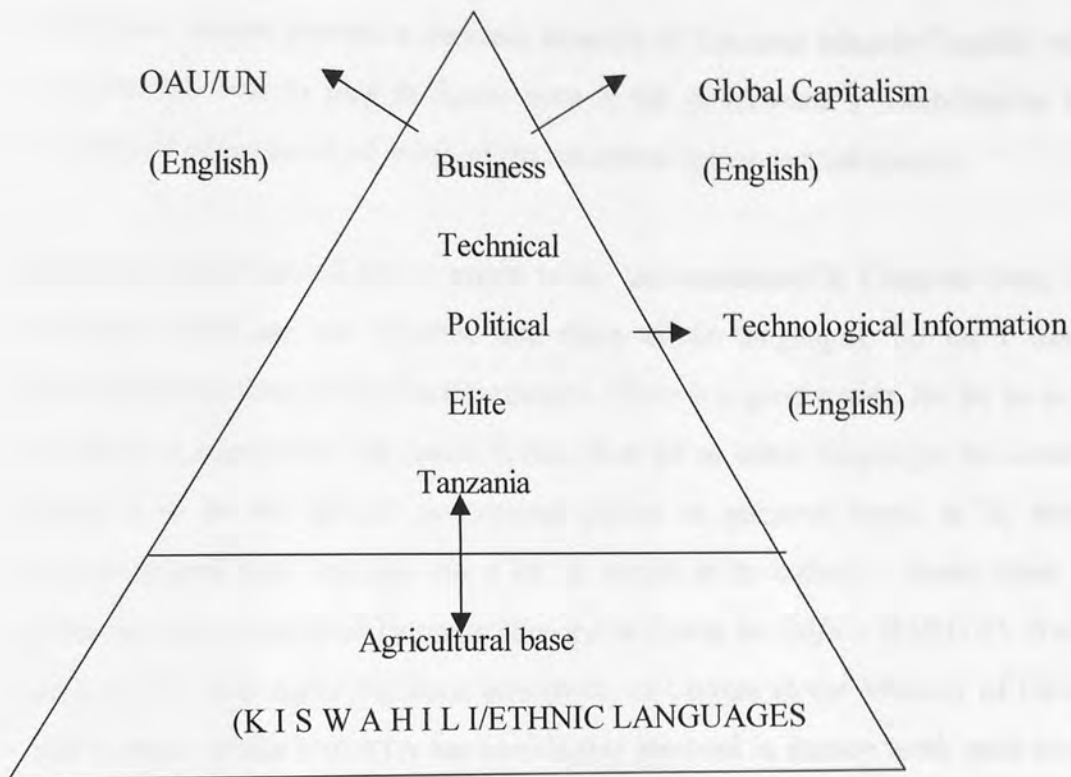
6.2 An emerging Triglossia in Tanzania

From the preceding discussion it is clear that a triglossic situation with regard to English, Kiswahili local/ethnic languages is evolving as Tanzania adapts to the globalisation process. As Kachru (1986) argues,

in several African and Asian countries English now has national and international functions that are both distinct and complementary with the local/national language. He further argues that English has now acquired a new power base and new elitism.

(Kachru, 1986:323).

Fig. 6.1 An emerging Diglossia in Tanzania



Ferguson (1972:435) is generally considered to be the first to define diglossia as

a relatively stable language situation in which in addition to primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

The above diagram clearly shows that, at the base, the majority of Tanzanians who are mainly subsistence farmers interact in their ethnic languages while Kiswahili is used for all official communication like during the village meetings. Higher up Kiswahili is still the official language in government offices. All communication channels from government head offices, regional and district offices down to the rural population operate in the medium of Kiswahili. The diagram further shows that communication

with the outside world is entirely in the medium of English (see **language use (item II)** under data presentation).

The above picture presents a diglossic situation in Tanzania whereby English will find a permanent role to play in future even if the government's Swahilisation of the medium of education at all levels of the education system is implemented.

However, here I would like to return to the fact mentioned in **Chapter One**, that in Tanzania there are one hundred and thirty ethnic languages. So far I have not mentioned any thing about these languages. There is a good reason for do so as far as my study is concerned. The reason is that, in as far as ethnic languages are concerned, there is to be no specific government policy to preserve them. It is, however, acknowledged that Tanzania has a lot of wealth in its culture – hence there is the National Arts Council of Tanzania (*Baraza la Sanaa la Taifa – BASATA*). *BASATA*, as *BAKITA*, falls under the same directorate of Culture in the Ministry of Education and Culture. While *BASATA* has been highly involved in literary work such as poetry and oral traditional literature in Kiswahili, conservation of local dances and music, it has done very little to conserve local languages in literary forms. This either follows on from the policies of TANU mentioned above, to avoid using ethnic languages in the struggle for independence or in the subsequent nation building era. TANU has devoted all its efforts to the spread of Kiswahili. It is important to point out here that no ethnic language in Tanzania is officially used in government offices. Furthermore, there is no ethnic language which is written down apart from the earlier works of the missionaries which were used hymns and Christian literature such as vernacular translations of some of the books in the Bible. In some areas, the missionaries also did write folklore in the respective languages. However, today very little is being done in this sphere, and even the old hymn books in the vernaculars are hardly used in the church. The absence of the languages from the public sphere does not mean, however, that they have disappeared. Many families retain them as family language. For these people there thus complex triglossia. It was outside the scope of my study to investigate this fully.

The diglossia does however have the effect of excluding a large proportion of the Tanzanian population (which is mainly peasants and rural based) from essential knowledge. The following anecdotes that I was told during my research illustrate how this happens. Agricultural experts such as lecturers and extension workers from SUA are highly involved in on-farm research and outreach activities as was the case in the Uluguru Mountains Integrated Soil Conservation Project (UMISCP). The final report, which includes findings, conclusions and recommendations of great use to the farmers who provided the data are not available to them because it is written in English⁸². This is also true of the reports of research and on-farm trials done by the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock Development and Co-operatives (MALDC) and its institutions such as the MATIs and LITIs. Similarly, reports by researchers from the Ministry of Natural Resources who highly involved in agro-forestry and environmental rehabilitation are mainly in English. These two ministries are of crucial importance to the peasants and Tanzanian agricultural community in general because they are directly involved with the peasants in their efforts to raise their livelihood and improving their environment in general.

6.3 English language and the National Development Vision 2025

Tanzania 'declared war' against three enemies immediately after independence. They are poverty, ignorance and diseases. Targets were set in a fifteen-year economic and social development programme under three phases each consisting of five years (1964 – 1969, 1969 – 1974 and 1975 – 1980)⁸³. (Nyerere, 1964:viii).

At that time it was categorically stated that agriculture is quantitatively the most important sector in the national economy. It is, and it will remain, the largest

⁸² Cf. Franz Fanon: *Black Writers White Audience*.

⁸³ 1974 – 1975 was set aside to assess the achievements of the two previous phases i.e. 1964 – 69 and 1969 – 74

productive area, and the one in which majority of people will continue to earn their living (Nyerere: op. cit.: ix)⁸⁴.

Today Tanzania is last but one from the bottom in the league of the world's poorest countries with per capita income of USD 110 per annum. This situation has led to the newly conceived **National Development Vision 2025**. The main objectives of the vision are not any different from the objectives of the previous development plan. Tanzania is still a rural based agricultural country. In order to bring about rapid rural transformation, education is still viewed as key to this process. For example, in its promises, the Tanzanian government has once 'declared its intention to review UPE'. Minister of Education, Joseph Mungai, during the Commonwealth celebration declared:

"We are bent on strengthening education in the country. The only way to succeed is through UPE. ... Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP) is being finalised as part of the **Tanzania Development Vision 2025** which aims at making Tanzania a nation with high quality of education at all levels. It (**Vision 2025**) also aims at making Tanzania a nation which produces the quantity and quality of educated people sufficiently equipped with the requisite knowledge to solve societal problems. The education should also meet the challenges of development and attain competitiveness at regional and global levels".

(*The Guardian (Tanzania)* 13.03.2001).

In view of the above, the issue of Swahilisation of the medium of education cannot simply be shelved as has been the case in the last decades. The whole Tanzanian society needs access to education so that subsistence farmers can improve techniques, so that industrialisation can find a suitable workforce, so that the health of the population can be improved, because women, the prime carers in Tanzania learn the importance of hygiene, nutrition and basic medical good practice, so that citizens understand basic duties and rights which anchor them to the state. The dangers of educating only a small section of the society are many. The consequences of such practice can cause damage to the entire population. To illustrate this let me take the case of health hazards in Tanzania in general and Morogoro Municipality in particular.

⁸⁴ For example, Director of the National Productivity Council, Halonga Shitindi recently urged Tanzanians to declare war against poverty by modernising agriculture, which has remained the backbone of our economy since independence (*The Guardian*, 4.1.2001).

There are many instances of outbreaks of typhoid fever Morogoro municipality especially during the raining season. One of the major causes of this sad situation is because the peasants who live on the slopes of the Uluguru Mountains, which is the source of water supply for the Morogoro municipality, pollute the water sources with their poor sanitation practices. This is because of their low level of education and ignorance about how typhoid is spread. When there is an outbreak of typhoid, it is not only the poor peasants who are affected but also the elite in Morogoro municipality. The situation is almost identical all over Tanzania⁸⁵.

A two-tier system, which leaves the majority unable to continue to study past an extremely basic level, and which cuts off the rural population from the advances of the town cannot bring about socio-economic development (cf. Education system during the colonial period in Tanzania). Knowledge must permeate to all levels of the society so that every citizen can contribute towards the overall national development. And with regard to the role of the English (and other foreign) languages I would like to quote Rubagumya (1994) who argues that:

Africans do not need to reject English or French altogether if they choose to resist the present language policies and practices. Rather, they should seek to reassess the values associated with both "international languages" and indigenous African languages. This should be done within the overall development strategy which takes into consideration all African people, not only the elite.

(Rubagumya, 1994:157)

The recommendations that arise from this study and which address these problems are the subject of the next chapter.

⁸⁵ A similar situation has been reported in Temboni, a semi-rural suburb of Dar es Salaam, where many elites, particularly lecturers from the University of Dar es Salaam, live and engage themselves in farming activities (reported in *The African*, 7.6.2000).

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

I once saw a picture of chimpanzee resting luxuriantly on a branch of a tree with palm of its right hand covering its eyes. Underneath was the following caption:

If you think education is too expensive, try ignorance.

7.1 Overall Summary

In Chapter One of this thesis I pointed out that the pre-colonial societies (tribes) in Tanzania inculcated knowledge, skills, values, culture and history of their respective groups through informal education. The aim of that informal education was to sustain the survival of the society as an entity from one generation to the next. Parents and other elders with some specific skills such as ironsmiths, goldsmiths and traditional healers in the society mainly carried out such education and training. I also pointed out that Europeans – first the missionaries and later the colonial government introduced Western⁸⁶ formal education in the second half of the nineteenth century. Both the missionaries and the colonial governments (the Germans and later the British) had specific aims of offering education to the young people. This trend was also true in other colonies ruled by other European superpowers. In the case of the missionaries the aims were twofold. First, to impart literacy skills so that those passing through the mission schools would be able read the scriptures and other Christian literature for the purpose of spreading Christianity. Secondly to give technical skills so that they could get craftsmen such as carpenters and masons to work in the construction of buildings when opening new mission centres in other parts of the country. In the case of colonial education, the major aim was to train efficient low status cadres to assist the European masters in offices, in schools and other social services such as health centre and in the plantations. In order to achieve this goal, there was a specific policy on the medium of

instruction to be followed at different level of the education system or for specific race. I also pointed out that education was offered on the racially segregated basis, such that there were schools for the Europeans, Asians and Africans. The major aim of such discrimination was to ensure that a small, mainly European elite class, was trained to maintain supremacy over the majority of the population who were Africans.

I further pointed out that, at independence, statistically Tanzania had negligible middle and high-level skilled manpower in almost every sector of the society to manage economic and social services. Thus in the newly independent Tanzania, the major aim of education was to train skilled manpower so as to impart skills, knowledge, values and attitudes necessary for bringing Tanzania, which is mainly a rural agrarian society, out of poverty, ignorance and diseases. Thus since independence, the government took several measures to offer education to the young people in Tanzania to achieve these goals. These measures included Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) which reflected the aspirations of the kind of society envisaged in the Arusha Declaration which aimed at making Tanzania a socialist and self-reliant society. Another measure was to make primary education accessible to all school-age children in Tanzania. The aim of education at all levels was to ensure that knowledge and skills, which are necessary elements in transforming the mainly subsistence farmers into a modern developed agricultural community, seep to the people at the grass-root thereby improving their livelihood economically and socially as stipulated in the Fifteen-year Economic and Social Development plan which was inaugurated in 1964. Despite these efforts, today Tanzania is last but one from the bottom of the league of nations in the world with an income per capita of USD 110.

As for the policy regarding the medium of instruction, I pointed out that at each epoch of formal education in Tanzania, specific language policies were pursued at different levels of the education system. The metropolitan colonial country before

⁸⁶ Of course in Arab settlements along the coast and along the major slave trade centres such as Bagamoyo, Zanzibar, Kilwa, Mikindani, Tabora, Kigoma and Morogoro, Arabs had introduced Quranic schools for the Moslem children.

independence, and after independence the elite ruling class, mainly determined such policies. Thus during British rule, English language, which was the official language, was the main medium of instruction in the upper classes of primary education and secondary education. (Kiswahili was used as the medium of instruction during the first three to four years of primary education). After independence and the subsequent Cultural Revolution the medium of education in primary school was changed to Kiswahili with a view of changing it in secondary schools and possibly in the higher education.

I pointed out that primary education in Tanzania is now universal and is offered in the medium of Kiswahili (although current statistics show that attendance has fallen to around 50%). However, secondary and higher education has remained elitist in nature and is offered in the medium of English in spite of several government policy statement of intention to change this medium since the late sixties. These include the recommendations in the Second Phase of the Fifteen-Year Development Plan (1969 – 1974), the recommendations of the Presidential Commission on Educational Reforms of the mid-eighties, and the most recent *Tanzania Cultural Policy of 1997*. Today, four decades after independence the medium of instruction is still English despite these recommendations and government policy statements.

In Chapter Six I discussed some of the possible reasons which have so far led to the failure by Tanzanian policy and decision-makers to change the medium of education in secondary schools and institutions of higher learning. One these reasons were the colonial heritage, which persists in the form of cultural capital for the elite ruling class in Tanzania. The second reason is the pressure on the Tanzanian government by the donor countries (as was the case in accepting the ELTSP as recommended by Criper and Dodd in the mid-eighties). The third reason and which seems to be more significant and influential today is the globalisation process which is, increasingly, resulting in a single global capitalist economy. Economic globalisation is also accompanied by the spread of a global culture. The language of this culture through

audio-visual media and other related technologies is mainly English. And understandably a sector of Tanzania society wishes to secure access to this global economy for their children.

7.2 Education in Tanzania in the 21st Century

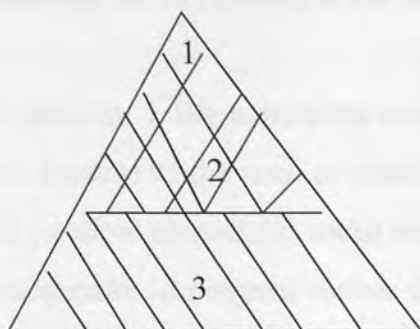
From the preceding section it is apparent that education has been part and parcel of all societies in the history of mankind. Education is necessary for the sustenance of the livelihood of the society. Recent development in the globalisation process, however, makes us rethink the definition of a society. From the Tanzanian point of view, is society a tribe such as the Maasai as they used to live in their specific geographical location during the pre-colonial era? Is it Tanzania as a whole as experienced during the implementation of the policy of self-reliance spirit advocated in the Arusha Declaration policy document whereby anything related to the Western Culture was regarded as counter-revolution? Or is it a global village where Tanzania is among the world nation-states, which form these global villages under the globalisation process?

In the introduction to this Chapter, I quoted a caption, which says, ***"If you think education is expensive, try ignorance"***. Thus whatever the answer to the preceding questions above, if Tanzania wishes to avoid *'trying ignorance'*, it needs an education system which must adapt to modern needs. Such an education system must be resilient in terms of its effectiveness, efficiency and affordability. In other words it must be cost effective in order to bring about economic and social development as propounded in the Fifteen-year Development Programme and the Arusha Declaration of the mid-sixties and currently, in the *National Development Vision 2025*. Such education system must be void of *ad hoc* political decisions or trivial policy statements e.g. crude policy statements that are impossible to implement from economic and existing manpower point of view.

7.3 The Role of the English Language in the Tanzanian Education System in the 21st Century

In **Chapter Six** I pointed out the triglossic situation which is evolving in Tanzania. Many Tanzanians speak at least two or three languages – his/her ethnic language (L1), Kiswahili, which s/he learns at school or through other contacts (as his/her L2), and for those who go to school, English is learned as another L2. I would like to revisit this in view of Tanzania as a developing nation which, needs to educate its population appropriately from grassroots up. In the initial statement of the problem of my study a *prima facie* case was made to the effect that the continued use of English language as the medium of education in the Tanzanian secondary and institutions of higher learning has negative consequences on the academic performance of the learners. In **Chapter Four** it was pointed out that this study set out to explore the current state of affairs in Tanzania with a view to establishing how well the ship of the state was navigating between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, the “rock and the hard place” of the educational shipwreck in either extreme, as well as what might constitute a safe middle way. At this stage it is important to state that the safe middle way must take into consideration the ever-changing global political and technological developments. In **Chapter Six** I argued that the globalisation process constitutes global Anglicisation. It is apparent that English language has a role to play in the Tanzanian education system and the society as a whole as discussed under the globalisation process which is engulfing the entire world. However, it also seems that the Tanzanian government has made a clear decision to make Kiswahili its medium of instruction at all levels in its education system as presented in its *Cultural Policy of 1997* (with the most recent emphasis by the Vice President and the Deputy Minister for Education). Whether the government can achieve this or not, diglossia will be inevitable in Tanzania because of the aforementioned reasons. The diglossic/triglossic situation in the post-modern Tanzania would most probably have the features described in diagram 7.1.

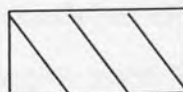
Figure 7.1 Role of English in post-modern Tanzania



1. Educated to higher education level.
Experts, professionals, top managers, academics, secondary school teachers.
Need English for academic purposes and international transaction
2. Educated to secondary school level.
Primary school teachers, agricultural extension workers, office workers,
industrial workers. Need English to access information
3. Educated to primary level.
Rural peasants, artisans, domestic employees. English window on the world



Tri/bilingual in English, Kiswahili and Mother tongue



Bilingual in Kiswahili and Mother tongue

The basic question that arises from this diagram is the following: 'How can the nation manage the two languages in the education system to benefit both the nation as a society and Tanzanians as individuals'. It is imperative to reconcile the needs and desires of different groups in society: the well-educated elites do not wish to lose their educational inheritance and the large numbers of peasant farming families need to have access to social mobility. At first sight these two ambitions are not easily dovetailed. Moreover all this must be achieved within a situation of scarce resources both financial

(to purchase appropriate teaching and learning materials to be used in teaching English at all levels) and manpower (to hire experts in the field of ELT).

When I began this research, I felt a personal commitment to the *Swahilisation* of secondary education, because of the need to make it available to the whole country, because of the need to allow democratic social mobility and because of the need to allow the farming community to progress further than the first rungs in the ladder of ESR. As I have read and researched, it has become clear to me that although none of this has changed, there is also a need to recognise the realities of the situation. If secondary education is to *Swahilize* there may be an even greater tendency for the children of the elites to be educated outside the state system. As there is, as I have identified, a pressing need for bilinguals (Swahili/English) in all sectors of the state economy and government, those educated to be bilingual would be advantaged. Thus, although the *Swahilisation* of the education system would make the next step of education available to the great majority, they would still be barred effectively from full social mobility since they would be unlikely to become competent English/Swahili bilinguals. In other words a change of language at 12/13 excludes some people, but so does a change of language at 18/19 (when they join institutions of higher education).

This research has identified the problem in some detail. It can do no more, however, than suggest some strategies to move towards a solution. Tanzanians need to (re)-consider very carefully the following questions:

At what level should the English language be taught as a subject and be used as a medium of instruction? Is there a case for bilingual education in secondary schools? This is the solution adopted by the Open University of Tanzania, and it begins to solve the dilemma described above. As Criper and Dodd reported, and as I noted above, the tendency within the secondary schools is to use a bilingual approach (This fact is also reported by Rubagumya, 1993). There may well be a case for making this an official strategy, which is what I would personally advocate.

Now that I raise the suggestion of bilingual education a whole raft of concerns comes into play. Skuttnab-Kangas' (1981) typology of bilingual educational arrangements makes it clear that stable and equal bilingualism is not easy to achieve. For bilingualism in secondary education to be a solution in the Tanzanian context, this stability would be necessary. There would be no solution if English simply comes to dominate again, because it is the 'stronger' language in terms of political and economic prestige. So we come to the general educational problem: How should such people learn/ be taught English at different levels to make the language more accessible to more people and how can this be dovetailed with higher levels of literacy in Kiswahili, so that skills in both progress?

What is the role of the teacher at each level? The kind of teachers we should hope to see in the classroom should be fluent bilinguals, able to manage a bilingual approach. This does preclude any support from outside agencies actually in the classroom at secondary level. Teachers from English speaking countries would still be able to contribute to teacher training.

A further research need, which I have identified, is a serious needs analysis. We should know exactly which groups in society need English and at which levels and in which domains. The language education of society should bear this in mind. Moreover it should be constantly reviewed, as there is clearly a developing situation here.

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